

A GRAMMAR OF THE TODA LANGUAGE

Dr. S. SAKTHIVEL
CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY IN LINGUISTICS



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these people in their own languages, it will be very difficult for us to win over them and to explain the virtues of the social reforms, that we have undertaken. In this era of democracy each individual irrespective of his caste or creed is entitled to have all the comforts and privileges assured by the constitution of India

With all these in view, the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University has undertaken the project 'Descriptive Studies of the Uncultivated Dravidian Languages' and has planned to work on the languages like Kota, Toda, Kasaba, Irula, Paniya and Kattunaicka etc. I am immensely pleased that the Centre is able to bring out the present monograph **A Grammar of the Toda Language** by Dr. S. Sakthivel. It is my earnest hope that this will be very useful not only to the linguists but also to other social scientists who work on the Todas. I am very happy indeed that we are now able to publish it under the publication programme of the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University

Annamalai University }
ANNAMALAINAGAR }
1-2-1977 }

S. Agesthalingom
DIRECTOR
Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics

Preface

The present treatise **A Grammar of the Toda Language** is part of my Ph. D. thesis submitted to the Annamalai University in the year 1974. **Phonology of Toda with Vocabulary** has already been published by the Annamalai University. An ethnological study of the Todas, all the relevant phonological features of this language with examples and vocabulary have been dealt in that treatise. Though several changes were made the inner core remains to be the same. All the relevant morphological features of this language have been studied and examples are also given in this work. A syntactic description of this language is presented here based on the transformational – generative approach.

I owe a debt of deep sense of sincere gratitude and gratefulness to my respected Professor Dr. S. Agesthalingom, Head of the Department of Linguistics and Director, Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University for having taught me not only the modern linguistic theories and generative grammar but also guided and helped in all the ways by giving his constructive suggestions, invaluable and stimulating guidance, immense encouragement, sympathetic consideration and personal care which enabled

me to complete this research work and to bring it to the light of the day and also for his kindness in including this work in the publication series of the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University.

I like to express my gratitude to Dr. S. V. Shanmugam, Dr. P. S. Subrahmanyam and Dr. N. Kumaraswami Raja, Readers in Linguistics, Annamalai University for their valuable suggestions. I am grateful to Dr. G. Srinivasa Varma, Mr. T. Edward Williams, Dr. R. Balakrishnan and Mr. N. Rajasekharan Nair for having helped me in one way or other in the course of my research work. I am grateful to Mr. G. Sankaranarayanan and P. Muthuswamy Pillai for correcting the proofs.

I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. S. Chandrasekhar, Vice - Chancellor and the authorities [of the Annamalai University for having given me the facilities to accomplish this work, to the University Grants Commission for the generous grants for the publication of this book through the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics and to M/s Sri Velan Press, Chidambaram who executed the printing work neatly.

S. Sakthivel

Abbreviations

Abl.	Ablative	Gen.	Genitive
Acc.	Accusative	G. N.	Gender-number
Adj.	Adjective	Hort.	Hortative
Adv.	Adverb	Imper.	Imperative
Adv _l .	Adverb of limit	Incl.	Inclusive
Adv _{man} .	Adverb of manner	Ins.	Instrumental
Adv _{part} .	Adverb of particle	Inter.	Interrogative
Adv _t .	Adverb of time	Intr.	Intransitive
Aux.	Auxiliary	L.	Names of length (measure)
Caus.	Causative	Loc.	Locative
Cl.	Clitics	M.	Names of measure
Cond.	Conditional	M. adj.	Mass adjective
Conj	Conjunctive	Mas.	Masculine
Dat.	Dative	N.	Noun
Decl.	Declarative	N _A .	Animate noun
Dem.	Demonstrative	N _{da} .	Names of day
Desi.	Desiderative	Neg.	Negative
DPN.	Demonstrative pronoun	Neut.	Neuter
Dubi.	Dubitative	N _{IA} .	Inanimate noun
Encl.	Enclitics	N _{mon} .	Names of months
Ex.	Example	NP.	Noun phrase
Excl.	Exclusive	Num.	Numeral
Fem.	Feminine	Obj.	Object
Frac	Fraction	Obl.	Obligatory

Opt.	Optional	S.	Sandhi rule
Ord.	Ordinal		[in Sandhi]
Part.	Particle	S.	Sentence [in Syntax]
PDPN	Proximate demonstrative pronoun	Sfx	Suffix
Perm.	Permissive	Sg.	Singular
Pers. sfx.	Personal suffix	Soc.	Sociative
Pl	Plural	St	Stem
PN.	Pronoun	Tem.	Temporal
P.N.	Participial noun	Ten.	Tense
PPN.	Personal pronoun	TM.	Time expression
Pres.	Present tense	Tr.	Transitive
Proh.	Prohibitive	V. N.	Verbal noun
RDPN	Remote demonstrative pronoun	Voc.	Vocative
R. P.	Relative participle	Vol.	Voluntative
		V. P.	Verbal participle
		VP.	Verb phrase

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1

Introduction

The Todas are a small tribal community in the Nilgiris, speaking the Toda language and they are wellknown to anthropologists for the aberrancy of their buffalo centred culture. The Todas call their language as *o:ɛ fo:ʃ*. Much work has been done on ethnological studies of Todas but very little work in linguistics is available on the Toda language. According to the 1971 Census of India, the language is spoken by a total of 930 persons

Bernhard Schmid (1837) regarded Toda language as a member of the Dravidian family or more exactly as a relative of Tamil¹. Robert Caldwell (1856) in the first edition of

1 'On the Dialect of the Todavers, the aborigines of the Neelgherries', *Madras Journal of Letters and Science*, Vol. v, p. 155-8, 1837.

'A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian family of languages' accepted this view on the basis of vocabulary and short sentences². Grierson (1905) also endorses this view³. Ruckert (1848) holds that the Tamlul language has a remarkable analogy with the Tartar dialect. Shortt (1868) in his book embodying '*An Account of tribes on the Nilgiris*' has recorded as follows: 'The language of the tribe on the Nilgiris is unmistakably Tamil although what is now spoken is a mixed dialect being a jargon of Tamil and Canarese'⁴. Aiyappan (1948) says that 'the language of the Toda is definitely connected with Tamil rather than with Kannada'⁵.

Metz (1864), one of the earliest persons to come into contact with Todas holds the view that it is a dialect of Canarese⁶. G. U. Pope (1873) says that it is a kind of Old Kanarese. As regard the structure of language, he points out,

"The Toda language has no compositions, written or unwritten, not a ballad nor a scrap of anything to indicate

2 Caldwell, R. *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian family of languages*, p. 15, 1856.

3 Grierson, G. A. *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. iv, p. 283, 1906

4 Shortt, J. *An Account of tribes on the Nilgiris*, 1868.

5 Aiyappan, A. *Report on the Socio-economic conditions of the Aboriginal tribes in the province of Madras*, 1948.

6 Metz, J. F. 'A Vocabulary of the Dialect spoken by the Todas of the Nilgiri mountains', *Madras Journal of Letters and Science*, i) p 103-8, 131-46, 1856-57; ii) p. 1-24, 1857

intellectual activity. The Tudas, like their buffaloes, are fine animals; but they are least cultivated of the Dravidian races. No trace remains of the employment by them of any written character; it is probable, therefore, that they separated from the other Dravidians before the 'ur-sprache' of those tribes was reduced to writing.

This language, of which but a very scanty fragment remains in use, has more sounds than any other Dravidian dialect, and some of those are peculiar to it, seeming to have been modified by the position and habits of the tribe.

The Tuda chiefly converse in the open air, calling to each other from one breezy hill top to another. Their speech sounds like Old Kanarese spoken in the teeth of a gale of wind.

The Tudas is a language which was once highly inflectional; but having lost most of its inflections, the people who have evidently degenerated in every way as the result of isolation, have not replaced them by significant particle or auxiliaries to the same extent as the other South Indian tribes and the language has thus dwindled down to a mere skeleton. It now barely suffices for the purposes of a very barbarous people.

The language seems to have been originally Old Kanarese, and not a distinct dialect. The Tudas were probably immigrants from the Kanarese Country; and have dwelt on the Nilgiris for about 800 years. Their language was Old Kanarese. A few Tamil forms were introduced by Poligars. Intercourse with the Badagas has probably modernized a few of the forms and introduced some words. Telugu influences

I see no trace. Nor can I trace any resemblance in Tuda to Malayalam, in any of the position where the dialects differs from its sisters"⁷. Robert Caldwell in his second edition (1875) quoted and apparently approved this view⁸. The Nilgiri District Manual furnishes these information on Toda speech. The Toda language is by no means confined to use by Todas alone as was once thought to be. It is a dialect of Old Canarese and closely allied to other Dravidian languages of the plains

W. H. R. Rivers (1906) in his monumental work '*The Todas*, has tried to show that there is an affinity between Toda and Malayalam

Dr Oppert holds the view that the Toda is probably allied to Telugu than any other southern dialects

According to Henry Harkness Toda language has no affinity with Sanskrit. According to Prince Peter of Greece (1951) it is related to Sumerian language. This is based on the coincidence he found in the names of gods between the Sumerian and Toda

Among the Dravidian languages modern Malayalam alone has lost its inflections for number and person in the verb, whereas Toda has such inflections with forms that are of the

7 Pope, G U 'A Brief outline of the Grammar of the Tuda language', In *Phrenologists amongst the Todas*, p. 239-269, 1873.

8 Caldwell, R. *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian family of Languages* (Second Edition), p. 512, 1875.

general type. Verb forms without personal endings first appeared in Malayalam records at the end of the 9th century. Toda had been separated from Malayalam before that time. We can see a contrast between Malayalam developments of $*nk > nñ$, $n̄c > n̄ñ$, $*nr > n̄n$, $*nt > nn$ and Toda development of a cluster made up of homorganic nasal plus stop to voiced stop (losing the nasal)

Eg	Ta.	<i>pa mbu</i>	To	<i>po·b</i>	(<i>mb > b</i>)
	Ta	<i>vant-</i>	To	<i>pod</i>	(<i>nt > d</i>)
	Ta.	<i>tiṇṇ-</i>	To.	<i>tīḍ</i>	(<i>n̄r > ḍ</i>)
	Ta	<i>kaṇt-</i>	To.	<i>koḍ</i>	(<i>ṇt > ḍ</i>)

Malayalam diverged as a separate language from Tamil from the early Middle Tamil age. Palatalization of initial $*k$ took place before the front vowels *i*, *e* except when the vowel is followed by a retroflex *ɻ*, *ṇ*, *l* and *r*. Toda does not show palatalization of PDr. $*k$ before front vowels while PDr. $*c$ changes as *t* in Toda. So we can say that Toda is not a Tamil-Malayalam dialect.

To say that it is a dialect of Telugu is also geographically implausible. Toda does not show palatalization of PDr. $*k$ before front vowels but Telugu shows this from the earliest records. Another specific feature of Telugu is metathesis but Toda shows nothing of this. Telugu past tense formation is simple. Most of the Telugu words end in vowels whereas most of the Toda words end in consonants. So, Toda is not a dialect of Telugu.

Kannada is the only South Dravidian language which has an innovation of the replacement of $p > h$ systematically and thoroughly.

Eg.	<i>pa:lu</i>	>	<i>ha:lu</i>	'milk'
	<i>pa:tu</i>	>	<i>ha:ɖu</i>	'to sing'
	<i>po:lu</i>	>	<i>ho:lu</i>	'to be alike'

Toda uses the root *ta-* to give (first or second person) as indirect object, *kotu* when there is a third person as indirect object. Kannada in its earliest records did not make this distinction. The morphological evidence of the sibilant past tense suffix and phonological matter of *ɾɾ* are clear indications that Toda was already going its own way as a language at least as early as the earliest Kannada records. Kannada uses aspirates as phonemes but Toda does not. *i/e* and *u/o* alternation are not found in Toda language whereas it operates in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu. If Toda preserves a proto-Dravidian feature and Old Kannada does not, Toda might derive from Proto-Dravidian or from any language that preserves the Proto-Dravidian feature. There is no doubt that many words of Kannada origin can be traced in this language, when they speak with other tribes. Such words may be accounted for by their long intercourse with the Badagas who are of Kanarese stock. Moreover many words of quite common use cannot be traced to any other language of the neighbours. Prof. M B Emeneau has concluded 'we have really no right to class Toda as a dialect of Kannada rather than as a dialect of some other South Dravidian or as an independent language'⁹

Toda is not a dialect of any of the important languages that are its neighbours, Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada but it is an independent language of the Dravidian family.

9 Emeneau, M B "Toda, A Dravidian language", *Transactions of the Philological Society*, p. 34, 1957.

Todas live at the meeting place of Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada languages but owing to their isolated position their language is not a blend of these but has very definite and distinct characteristics of its own, as might be expected from the character of the people. Todas, Kotas and Badagas live together and have lived together for centuries, even though three mutually unintelligible languages are spoken. Generally Nilgiri languages have been almost isolated geographically from all other South Dravidian languages. Toda is in fact a descendant of an off shoot from Proto-Tamil which is of course the ancestor of both Tamil and off-shoot from Malayalam. Toda belongs with Tamil - Malayalam rather than with Kannada.

One evidence to sub-grouping of Toda-Kota Nilgiri sub-group does not share palatalization of *k-* before front vowels we must posit that the splitting off the Nilgiri sub-group took place before the Tamil palatalization. These two languages disagree with the other South Dravidian languages in having South Dravidian past stem for both past and non-past. This must be interpreted as an innovation shared in common by these two languages and since such deep seated borrowing is implausible unless other evidences necessitate the assumption. Bh. Krishnamurti has made it clear that Toda and Kota share a common innovation in the oblique forms of the first person pronoun exclusive and inclusive¹⁰. In both the languages alveolar plosive is preserved. There is a deep lying identity in the phonological and grammatical structures of Kota and Toda. Separation of Pre-Toda and Kota took

10 Krishnamurti, Bh. 'Dravidian personal pronoun', *Studies in Indian Linguistics*, p. 189-205, Poona and Annamalai-nagar, 1968.

place before the Tamil palatalization reached their place of origin *i.e.* probably at the period round about the beginning of the Tamil recorded texts.

One of the most striking features of Toda is the loss of vowels in non-initial syllables. Toda could be classed with the southern languages alone, since they have alveolar phonemes distinguished from dentals and retroflexes. Toda morphology is different in many respects from that of any other of the language. Secondary stem (termed as S_2) is the basis for the past tense but in Toda it is the basis for the past and non-past. Toda is the only language which retains in full working order as part of the past tense formation the sibilant suffix that must be reconstructed as part of the past tense apparatus for Proto-Dravidian.

Phonology of Toda with Vocabulary has already been published by the Annamalai University¹¹. An ethnological study of the Todas, all the relevant phonological features of this language with examples and Vocabulary have been presented in that treatise.

¹¹ Sakthivel, S. *Phonology of Toda with Vocabulary*, (DLP 41), Annamalai University, 1976.

2

Sandhi

2.0. Internal Sandhi, occurring within a word bounded by pause is alone discussed in this chapter. In this chapter the ampersand '&' is used to represent the morpheme boundary and the '—' is used to indicate the place of the phoneme in question. The Sandhi rules are referred to in the following chapters. These rules are ordered and in cases where two or more rules operate, they operate one after another in the order in which they are given.

$$2.1. \quad t \longrightarrow t / \left\{ \begin{matrix} l \\ n \end{matrix} \right\} \& -$$

$$u:l \& t \quad (\text{Sources 4.1.1.2}) \quad \longrightarrow \quad u:l \& t$$

$$tu:l \& t \quad (4.1.1.2) \quad \longrightarrow \quad tu:l \& t$$

<i>pī:l</i> & <i>t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	—>	<i>pī:l</i> & <i>t</i>
<i>pu:l</i> & <i>t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	—>	<i>pu:l</i> & <i>t</i>
<i>kiskwīl</i> & <i>t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	—>	<i>kiskwīl</i> & <i>t</i>
<i>nī:l</i> & <i>t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	—>	<i>nī:l</i> & <i>t</i>
<i>pe:l</i> & <i>t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	—>	<i>pe:l</i> & <i>t</i>
<i>ko:n</i> & <i>t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	—>	<i>ko:n</i> & <i>t</i>

2.2. $\left\{ \begin{matrix} l \\ n \end{matrix} \right\} \longrightarrow \emptyset / - \& t$

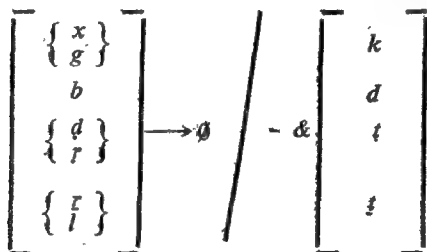
<i>u:l</i> & <i>t</i>	(S.2.1)	—>	<i>u:t</i>
<i>tu:l</i> & <i>t</i>	(S.2.1)	—>	<i>tu:t</i>
<i>pī:l</i> & <i>t</i>	(S.2.1)	—>	<i>pī:t</i>
<i>pu:l</i> & <i>t</i>	(S.2.1)	—>	<i>pu:t</i>
<i>kiskwīl</i> & <i>t</i>	(S.2.1)	—>	<i>kiskwīt</i>
<i>nī:l</i> & <i>t</i>	(S.2.1)	—>	<i>nī:t</i>
<i>pe:l</i> & <i>t</i>	(S.2.1)	—>	<i>pe:t</i>
<i>ko:n</i> & <i>t</i>	(S.2.1)	—>	<i>ko:t</i>

2.3. $t \longrightarrow \left[\begin{matrix} k \\ p \\ t \\ t \end{matrix} \right] / \left[\begin{matrix} \{x\} \\ \{g\} \\ b \\ \{d\} \\ \{r\} \\ \{t\} \\ \{l\} \end{matrix} \right] \& -$

<i>alx</i> & <i>t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	—>	<i>alx</i> & <i>k</i>
<i>ī:x</i> & <i>t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	—>	<i>ī:x</i> & <i>k</i>

<i>oḍg & t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	—>	<i>oḍg & k</i>
<i>tīrb & t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	—>	<i>tīrb & p</i>
<i>o:ḍ & t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	—>	<i>o:ḍ & t</i>
<i>ku:r & t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	—>	<i>ku:r & t</i>
<i>ni:r & t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	—>	<i>ni:r & t</i>
<i>mo:r & t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	—>	<i>mo:r & t</i>
<i>tō:r & t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	—>	<i>tō:r & t</i>
<i>no:l & t</i>	(4.1.1.2)	—>	<i>no:l & t</i>

2.4.



<i>alx & k</i>	(S.2.3)	—>	<i>alk</i>
<i>ī:x & k</i>	(S.2.3)	—>	<i>ī:x</i>
<i>oḍg & k</i>	(S.2.3)	—>	<i>oḍk</i>
<i>wīrg & k</i>	(S.2.3)	—>	<i>wīrk</i>
<i>tīrb & p</i>	(S.2.3)	—>	<i>trīp</i>
<i>o:ḍ & t</i>	(S.2.3)	—>	<i>o:t</i>
<i>ku:r & t</i>	(S.2.3)	—>	<i>ku:t</i>
<i>ni:r & t</i>	(S.2.3)	—>	<i>ni:t</i>
<i>mo:r & t</i>	(S.2.3)	—>	<i>mo:t</i>
<i>tō:r & t</i>	(S.2.3)	—>	<i>tō:t</i>
<i>no:l & t</i>	(S.2.3)	—>	<i>no:t</i>

$$2.5. \quad p \longrightarrow f / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \bar{t} \\ t \end{array} \right\} - \& V$$

$$\bar{t} \& po\theta \quad (3.6.2.1) \quad \longrightarrow \quad \bar{t} \& fo\theta .$$

$$\bar{o}t \& po\theta \quad (3.6.8.2) \quad \longrightarrow \quad \bar{o}t \& fo\theta$$

$$2.6 \quad p \longrightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} r \\ w \end{array} \right\} - \& V$$

$$ar \& po\theta \quad (3.6.6.1) \quad \longrightarrow \quad ar\theta\theta$$

$$\bar{o}w \& po\theta \quad (3.6.7.2) \quad \longrightarrow \quad \bar{o}wo\theta$$

$$2.7. \quad m \longrightarrow \emptyset / - \& \left\{ \begin{array}{c} t \\ x \end{array} \right\}$$

$$sonm \& t \& k \quad (3.2.2.4) \quad \longrightarrow \quad son \& t \& k$$

$$no:ym \& t \& k \quad (3.2.2.4) \quad \longrightarrow \quad no:y \& t \& k$$

$$k\bar{t}nm \& t \& k \quad (3.2.2.4) \quad \longrightarrow \quad k\bar{t}n \& t \& k$$

$$pojo:rm \& t \& \bar{s}n \quad (3.2.2.5) \quad \longrightarrow \quad poj\bar{o}:r \& t \& \bar{s}n$$

$$po\eta m \& xo:r\bar{n} \quad (3.7.1.1) \quad \longrightarrow \quad po\eta \& xo:r\bar{n}$$

$$tw\bar{t}:tm \& xo:r\bar{n} \quad (3.7.1.1) \quad \longrightarrow \quad tw\bar{t}:t \& xo:r\bar{n}$$

$$2.8. \quad r \longrightarrow t / - \& k$$

$$k\bar{o}:r \& k \quad (3.2.2.4) \quad \longrightarrow \quad k\bar{o}:t \& k$$

$$2.9. \quad \bar{c} \longrightarrow l / - \& \left\{ \begin{array}{c} c \\ f \end{array} \right\}$$

$$ka\bar{c} \& c \quad (4.1.1.1) \quad \longrightarrow \quad ka\bar{l} \& c$$

twī:l & c (4.1 1.1) \longrightarrow *twī:l & c*

kaṭ & fy (4 2.4) \longrightarrow *kaḷ & fy*

2 10. $\dot{t} \longrightarrow n / - \& m$

naṭ & my (3.7 5) \longrightarrow *nan & my*

2.11 $r \longrightarrow \phi / - \& c$

kōr & c (4.1.1 1) \longrightarrow *kōḍ & c*

2 12 $\dot{d} \longrightarrow r / - \& \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} t \\ f \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$

ōḍ & t (4.1.1.2) \longrightarrow *ōr & t*

kaḍ & t (4.1.1.2) \longrightarrow *kar & t*

ōḍ & f (4 1.1.2) \longrightarrow *ōr & f*

2 13. $sō.r \longrightarrow sō: / - \& t$

sō.r & t (4.1.1.2) \longrightarrow *sō:t*

2 14. $\underline{s} \longrightarrow \check{s} / y \& -$

poṭy & s (3 2 2.7) \longrightarrow *poṭy & \check{s}*

kulo:y & s (3 2 2.7) \longrightarrow *kulo:y & \check{s}*

aḍy & s (3 2 2 7) \longrightarrow *aḍy & \check{s}*

po:y & s (3 2.2.7) \longrightarrow *po:y & \check{s}*

kīy & s (4 11.2 1) \longrightarrow *kīy & \check{s}*

i ṣkity & s & n (3 2 2 5) \longrightarrow *i.ṣkity & \check{s} & n*

koce:ry & s & n (3 2.2.5) \longrightarrow *koce:ry & \check{s} & n*

$$2.15. \quad s \longrightarrow s \left\{ \begin{array}{c} t \\ d \\ n \\ r \end{array} \right\} \& -$$

$ut \& s$	(3.2.2.7)	\longrightarrow	$ut \& s$
$ut \& s \& n$	(3.2.2.5)	\longrightarrow	$ut \& s \& n$
$wi:d \& s$	(4.11.2.1)	\longrightarrow	$wi \ d \& s$
$un \& s$	(4.11.2.1)	\longrightarrow	$un \& s$
$nar \& s$	(4.11.2.1)	\longrightarrow	$nar \& s$

$$2.16. \quad s \longrightarrow z / i: \& -$$

$iwi: \& s$	(3.2.2.7)	\longrightarrow	$iwi: \& z$
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$$2.17 \quad n \longrightarrow n \left/ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} t \\ d \\ s \\ z \\ n \\ t \\ i \end{array} \right\} \right. \& -$$

$pe:t \& n$	(3.1.1.1)	\longrightarrow	$pe.t \& n$
$pī:t \& n$	(3.1.1.1)	\longrightarrow	$pī.t \& n$
$kof:d \& n$	(3.1.1.1)	\longrightarrow	$kof.d \& n$
$wī:d \& n$	(3.1.1.1)	\longrightarrow	$wī.d \& n$
$et \& n$	(3.1.1.1)	\longrightarrow	$et \& n$

<i>no:s & n</i>	(3.1.1.1)	—>	<i>no:s & n</i>
<i>o:t & n</i>	(3.2.2.1)	—>	<i>o:t & n</i>
<i>kol & n</i>	(4.2.2.5)	—>	<i>kol & n</i>
<i>u:t & s & n</i>	(S.2.15)	—>	<i>u:t & s & n</i>

2.18. $c_1 \longrightarrow \emptyset / c_1 \& \text{—}$
 where c_1 is nasal or sibilant.

<i>en & n</i>	(3 2 2 6)	—>	<i>en</i>
<i>nin & n</i>	(3.2.2.6)	—>	<i>nin</i>
<i>pīrs & s & pin & i</i>	(4 3.1.2.2)	—>	<i>pīrs & pin & i</i>
<i>ars & s & pin & i</i>	(4 3 1.2 2)	—>	<i>ars & pin & i</i>
<i>pe:s & s & pin & i</i>	(4.3.1 2 2)	—>	<i>pe:s & pin & i</i>
<i>kīs & s & pin & i</i>	(4.3.1 2.2)	—>	<i>kīs & pin & i</i>
<i>paš & še & pin & i</i>	(4 6 1)	—>	<i>paš & e & pin & i</i>
<i>taš & še & pin & i</i>	(4.6 1)	—>	<i>taš & e & pin & i</i>
<i>paš & š & pin & i</i>	(4.7 1)	—>	<i>paš & pin & i</i>
<i>taš & š & pin & i</i>	(4.7.1)	—>	<i>taš & pin & i</i>

2.19. $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} i: \\ n \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \longrightarrow \emptyset / \text{—} \& a:$

<i>eyi: & a:</i>	(3 2 2.9)	—>	<i>ey & a:</i>
<i>okn & a:</i>	(3 2 2 9)	—>	<i>ok & a:</i>

2.20. $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} c \\ j \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} č \\ j \end{smallmatrix} \right\} / \text{—} \& y$

(Rules 2.20 – 2.40 operate in the secondary stem formation (S_2))

<i>kī:c & y</i>	(Sources 4.3)	—>	<i>ki:č & y</i>
<i>monc & y</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>monč & y</i>
<i>naɖc & y</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>naɖč & y</i>
<i>müc & y</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>müč & y</i>
<i>tī:rc & y</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>ti rč & y</i>
<i>ni:j & y</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>ni j & y</i>
<i>o j & y</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>o j & y</i>
<i>pu:j & y</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>pu j & y</i>
<i>pīɖj & y</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>pīɖ j & y</i>
<i>mo:j & y</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>mo: j & y</i>

2.21. $y \longrightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \check{c} \\ j \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \& -$

<i>ki:č & y</i>	(S.2.20)	—>	<i>ki:č</i>
<i>monč & y</i>	(S.2.20)	—>	<i>monč</i>
<i>naɖč & y</i>	(S.2.20)	—>	<i>naɖč</i>
<i>müč & y</i>	(S.2.20)	—>	<i>müč</i>
<i>tī:rč & y</i>	(S.2.20)	—>	<i>ti:rč</i>
<i>ni:j & y</i>	(S.2.20)	—>	<i>ni:j</i>
<i>o j & y</i>	(S.2.20)	—>	<i>o j</i>
<i>pu j & y</i>	(S.2.20)	—>	<i>pu:j</i>
<i>pīɖ j & y</i>	(S.2.20)	—>	<i>pīɖ j</i>
<i>mo: j & y</i>	(S.2.20)	—>	<i>mo: j</i>

2.22. $\theta \longrightarrow s / y \ \& \ -$

<i>mi:y & θ</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>mi:y & s</i>
<i>kīy & θ</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>kīy & s</i>
<i>mūry & θ</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>mūry & s</i>
<i>ary & θ</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>ary & s</i>
<i>kwīy & θ</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>kwīy & s</i>

2.23 $r \longrightarrow \emptyset / - \ \& \ \theta$

<i>pī:rfor & θ</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>pī:rfoθ</i>
<i>kō r & θ</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>kō:θ</i>
<i>o.i & θ</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>o:θ</i>

2.24. $\left[\begin{array}{c} i\dot{d}y \\ soy \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} i\dot{d} \\ so \end{array} \right] / - \ \& \ t$

<i>iḍy & t</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>iḍt</i>
<i>soy & t</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>sot</i>

2.25. $t \longrightarrow c / y \ \& \ -$

<i>twī:y & t</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>twī:y & c</i>
<i>mony & t</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>mony & c</i>
<i>uny & t</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>uny & c</i>
<i>ary & t</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>ary & c</i>
<i>kary & t</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>kary & c</i>
<i>pīry & t</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>pīry & c</i>
<i>paṛy & t</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>paṛy & c</i>

2.26. $y \longrightarrow \emptyset$ / — & $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} t \\ k \\ f \\ c \\ V \\ sib \end{array} \right\}$

V stands for vowel
 sib stands for sibilant

<i>nwī.ty & o & t & i</i>	(4.4.1)	—>	<i>nwī t & o & t & i</i>
<i>nwī:ty & o & ʒ & i</i>	(4.4.1)	—>	<i>nwī:t & o & ʒ & i</i>
<i>ürpy & t</i>	(4.3.1 1 3)	—>	<i>ürp & t</i>
<i>ōšty&kīʒ&o&en&i</i>	(4.17.1)	—>	<i>ōšt&kīʒ&o&en&i</i>
<i>nwī:ty&kīʒ&o&en&i</i>	(4.17.1)	—>	<i>nwī:t&kīʒ&o&en&i</i>
<i>ōšty&kīʒ&o&p&i</i>	(4.17.1)	—>	<i>ōšt&kīʒ&c&p&i</i>
<i>ōšty & ∅ & foy</i>	(4.12.2)	—>	<i>ōšt & ∅ & foy</i>
<i>noky & ∅ & foy</i>	(4.12.2)	—>	<i>nok & ∅ & foy</i>
<i>twī:y & c</i>	(S.2.25)	—>	<i>twī:c</i>
<i>mony & c</i>	(S.2.25)	—>	<i>monc</i>
<i>uny & c</i>	(S.2.25)	—>	<i>unc</i>
<i>ary & c</i>	(S.2.25)	—>	<i>arc</i>
<i>kary & c</i>	(S.2.25)	—>	<i>karc</i>
<i>pīry & c</i>	(S.2.25)	—>	<i>pīrc</i>
<i>paɾy & c</i>	(S.2.25)	—>	<i>paɾc</i>
<i>mī:y & s</i>	(S.2.22)	—>	<i>mī:</i>
<i>kīy & s</i>	(S.2.22)	—>	<i>kīs</i>
<i>mūry & s</i>	(S.2.22)	—>	<i>mürs</i>
<i>aɾy & s</i>	(S.2.22)	—>	<i>aɾs</i>
<i>kwīj & s</i>	(S.2.22)	—>	<i>kwīs</i>

<i>tüty & s & pin & i</i>	(4.3 1.2.2)	—>	<i>tüt & s & pin & i</i>
<i>no:ty & s & pin & i</i>	(4.3.1.2 2)	—>	<i>no:t & s & pin & i</i>
<i>pīty & s & pin & i</i>	(4 3 1.2.2)	—>	<i>pīt & s & pin & i</i>
<i>e mo:ty & s & pin & i</i>	(4.3.1 2.2)	—>	<i>e:mo:t & s & pin & i</i>
<i>pinty & s & pin & i</i>	(4.3.1.2 2)	—>	<i>pint & s & pin & i</i>
<i>kody & s & pin & i</i>	(4 3 1 2 2)	—>	<i>kod & s & pin & i</i>
<i>udy & s & pin & i</i>	(4 3 1 2 2)	—>	<i>id & s & pin & i</i>
<i>nwī:ty & s & pin & i</i>	(4 3 1.2 2)	—>	<i>nwī:t & s & pin & i</i>
<i>ni:dy & s & pin & i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2)	—>	<i>ni:d & s & pin & i</i>
<i>ko:ty & s & pin & i</i>	(4 3 1 2.2)	—>	<i>ko:t & s & pin & i</i>
<i>ni:ty & s & pin & i</i>	(4.3 1 2 2)	—>	<i>ni:t & s & pin & i</i>
<i>pu ty & s & pin & i</i>	(4.3.1.2 2)	—>	<i>pu:t & s & pin & i</i>
<i>kufy & s & pin & i</i>	(4 3 1.2 2)	—>	<i>kuf & s & pin & i</i>
<i>karky & s & pin & i</i>	(4.3 1 2 2)	—>	<i>kark & s & pin & i</i>
<i>kumy & s & pin & i</i>	(4.3 1.2.2)	—>	<i>kum & s & pin & i</i>
<i>aspy & s & pin & i</i>	(4.3 1 2 2)	—>	<i>asp & s & pin & i</i>
<i>nob & s & pin & i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2)	—>	<i>nob & s & pin & i</i>
<i>tīrky & s & pin & i</i>	(4 3 1 2 2)	—>	<i>tīrk & s & pin & i</i>
<i>mo:ky & s & pin & i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2)	—>	<i>mo:k & s & pin & i</i>
<i>omky & s & pin & i</i>	(4 3.1 2.2)	—>	<i>omk & s & pin & i</i>
<i>wa.gy & s & pin & i</i>	(4.3.1.2.2)	—>	<i>wa:g & s & pin & i</i>

2.27. $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} r \\ l \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \longrightarrow \emptyset / - \& t$

wīr & t (4.3) —> *wīt*

swī:l & t (4.3) —> *swīt*

$$2.28. \quad t \longrightarrow \underset{\underset{t}{|}}{t} / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} r \\ t \end{array} \right\} \& -$$

<i>pīr</i> & <i>t</i>	(4 3)	—>	<i>pīr</i> & <i>t</i>
<i>kaṭ</i> & <i>t</i>	(4 3)	—>	<i>kaṭ</i> & <i>t</i>
<i>mu:neṭ</i> & <i>t</i>	(4 3)	—>	<i>mu:neṭ</i> & <i>t</i>
<i>twī:t</i> & <i>t</i>	(4 3)	—>	<i>twī:t</i> & <i>t</i>

$$2.29. \quad t \longrightarrow t / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} d \\ r \\ t \end{array} \right\} \& -$$

<i>wī:rīd</i> & <i>t</i>	(4 3)	—>	<i>wī:rīd</i> & <i>t</i>
<i>oṛ</i> & <i>t</i>	(4 3)	—>	<i>oṛ</i> & <i>t</i>
<i>ke:t</i> & <i>t</i>	(4.3)	—>	<i>ke:t</i> & <i>t</i>

$$2.30. \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} r \\ t \end{array} \right\} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} d \\ r \\ t \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \emptyset / - \& \left[\begin{array}{c} t \\ t \end{array} \right]$$

<i>pīr</i> & <i>t</i>	(S.2.28)	—>	<i>pī</i> <i>t</i>
<i>kaṭ</i> & <i>t</i>	(S.2.28)	—>	<i>ka</i> <i>t</i>
<i>mu:neṭ</i> & <i>t</i>	(S.2.28)	—>	<i>mu:ne</i> <i>t</i>
<i>twī.t</i> & <i>t</i>	(S.2.28)	—>	<i>twī:</i> <i>t</i>
<i>wī.rīd</i> & <i>t</i>	(S.2.29)	—>	<i>wī:rīt</i>
<i>oṛ</i> & <i>t</i>	(S.2.29)	—>	<i>ot</i>
<i>ke:t</i> & <i>t</i>	(S.2.29)	—>	<i>ke:t</i>

2.31. $t \longrightarrow k / x \ \& \ -$

$pux \ \& \ t$ (4.3) $\longrightarrow pux \ \& \ k$

2.32. $x \longrightarrow \emptyset / - \ \& \ k$

$pux \ \& \ k$ (S.2.31) $\longrightarrow puk$

2.33. $\left[\begin{array}{c} mi \ y \\ p\ddot{o}y \\ sal \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} mi: \\ p\ddot{o} \\ sa \end{array} \right] / - \ \& \ d$

$mi:y \ \& \ d$ (4.3) $\longrightarrow mi:d$

$poy \ \& \ d$ (4.3) $\longrightarrow p\ddot{o}d$

$sal \ \& \ d$ (4.3) $\longrightarrow sad$

2.34. $r \longrightarrow \emptyset / - \ \& \ d$

$s\ddot{o}:r \ \& \ d$ (4.3) $\longrightarrow s\ddot{o}:d$

$u:r \ \& \ d$ (4.3) $\longrightarrow u:d$

2.35. $d \longrightarrow \underline{d} / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{s} \\ \underline{n} \\ \underline{l} \end{array} \right\} \ \& \ -$

$k\ddot{i}\underline{s} \ \& \ d$ (4.3) $\longrightarrow k\ddot{i}\underline{s} \ \& \ \underline{d}$

$i \ n \ \& \ d$ (4.3) $\longrightarrow i:n' \ \& \ \underline{d}$

$t\ddot{i}n \ \& \ d$ (4.3) $\longrightarrow t\ddot{i}n \ \& \ \underline{d}$

$te:l \ \& \ d$ (4.3) $\longrightarrow te:l \ \& \ \underline{d}$

$n\ddot{i}l \ \& \ d$ (4.3) $\longrightarrow n\ddot{i}l \ \& \ \underline{d}$

$$236. \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{s} \\ n \\ l \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow \emptyset / - \& \underline{d}$$

kĩs & d (S 235) \longrightarrow *kĩd*

i n & d (S 235) \longrightarrow *i:d*

tĩn & d (S 235) \longrightarrow *tĩd*

te.l & d (S.235) \longrightarrow *te:d*

nĩl & d (S 235) \longrightarrow *nĩd*

$$237. \quad d \longrightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} n \\ l \end{array} \right\} \& -$$

un & d (4.3) \longrightarrow *un & d*

nĩl & d (4.3) \longrightarrow *nĩ:l & d*

kiskwĩl & d (4.3) \longrightarrow *kiskwĩl & d*

pu:l & d (4.3) \longrightarrow *pu:l & d*

$$238. \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} ko:n \\ po\ r \\ to:r \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} ko:n \\ por \\ tor \end{array} \right] / - \& d$$

ko:n & d (4.3) \longrightarrow *kon & d*

po r & d (4.3) \longrightarrow *por & d*

to:r & d (4.3) \longrightarrow *tor & d*

$$239 \quad d \longrightarrow \emptyset / ko:n \& -$$

kon & d (S 238) \longrightarrow *kon & d*

$$240 \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} l \\ n \end{array} \right\} \\ r \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \emptyset / - \& \left[\begin{array}{c} d \\ d \end{array} \right]$$

ni:l & d (S.2.37) \longrightarrow *nĩ·d*

kiskwĩl & d (S.2.37) \longrightarrow *kiskwĩḍ*

pu:l & d (S 2 37) \longrightarrow *pu:d*

uṇ & d (S 2 37) \longrightarrow *uḍ*

koṇ & d (S 2 39) \longrightarrow *koḍ*

por & d (S.2.38) \longrightarrow *pod*

tor & d (S 2 38) \longrightarrow *tod*

$$241. \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} t \\ \emptyset \\ c \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow \emptyset / - \& s$$

kwĩṛt & s & pin & i (4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *kwĩṛ & s & pin & i*

nenṭ & s & pin & i (4.3 1.2.2) \longrightarrow *nen & s & pin & i*

aṛṭ & s & pin & i (4 3.1.2 2) \longrightarrow *aṛ & s & pin & i*

nenṯ & s & pin & i (4.3.1 2 2) \longrightarrow *nen & s & pin & i*

pũsoḍṯ & s & pin & i (4 3.1.2 2) \longrightarrow *pũsoḍ & s & pin & i*

parṯ & s & pin & i (4.3.1 2.2) \longrightarrow *par & s & pin & i*

monc & s & pin & i (4.3.1 2.2) \longrightarrow *mon & s & pin & i*

karc & s & pin & i (4 3 1 2 2) \longrightarrow *kar & s & pin & i*

2.42. $s \longrightarrow z / d \ \& \text{---}$

<i>pod & s & pin & i</i>	(4 3 1 2 2) \longrightarrow	<i>pod & z & pin & i</i>
<i>tod & s & pin & i</i>	(4 3 1 2 2) \longrightarrow	<i>tod & z & pin & i</i>
<i>u'd & s & pin & i</i>	(4 3 1 2 2) \longrightarrow	<i>u d & z & pin & i</i>
<i>sò:d & s & pin & i</i>	(4 3.1 2 2) \longrightarrow	<i>sò:d & z & pin & i</i>

2.43. $s \longrightarrow \underline{s} / \underline{t} \ \& \text{---}$

<i>pī_t & s & pin & i</i>	(4 3 1 2 2) \longrightarrow	<i>pī_t & <u>s</u> & pin & i</i>
<i>mu.ne_t & s & pin & i</i>	(4 3 1 2 2) \longrightarrow	<i>mu.ne_t & <u>s</u> & pin & i</i>
<i>tū_t & s & pin & i</i>	(4.3 1 2 2) \longrightarrow	<i>tū_t & <u>s</u> & pin & i</i>
<i>no:_t & s & pin & i</i>	(4 3.1 2 2) \longrightarrow	<i>no:_t & <u>s</u> & pin & i</i>

2.44. $s \longrightarrow \underline{\underline{s}} / \underline{\underline{d}} \ \& \text{---}$

<i>nī_d & s & pin & i</i>	(4 3 1 2 2) \longrightarrow	<i>nī_d & <u><u>s</u></u> & pin & i</i>
<i>ka_d & s & pin & i</i>	(4 3 1 2 2) \longrightarrow	<i>ka_d & <u><u>s</u></u> & pin & i</i>
<i>tī_d & s & pin & i</i>	(4.3.1 2 2) \longrightarrow	<i>tī_d & <u><u>s</u></u> & pin & i</i>
<i>twī:_d & s & pin & i</i>	(4 3 1 2 2) \longrightarrow	<i>twī:_d & <u><u>s</u></u> & pin & i</i>

2.45. $s \longrightarrow \check{s} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} t \\ \check{c} \\ i \\ p \\ b \\ f \\ m \end{array} \right\} \ \& \text{---}$

pīt & s & pin & i (S 2 26 4 3 1.2.2) \longrightarrow *pīt & s & pin & i*

e:mo:t & s & pin & i (S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *e:mo:t & š & pin & i*

pint & s & pin & i (S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *pint & š & pin & i*

ki.č & s & pin & i (S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *ki.č & š & pin & i*

ko.č & s & pin & i (S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *ko.č & š & pin & i*

u.č & s & pin & i (S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *u.č & š & pin & i*

pi. & s & pin & i (S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *pi. & š & pin & i*

ašp & s & pin & i (S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *ašp & š & pin & i*

nob & s & pin & i (S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *nob & š & pin & i*

kuf & s & pin & i (S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *kuf & š & pin & i*

kum & s & pin & i (S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *kum & š & pin & i*

2 46. $s \longrightarrow \check{z} / \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} d \\ j \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \& -$

ked & s & pin & i (S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *ked & ž & pin & i*

ni d & s & pin & i (S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *ni:d & ž & pin & i*

ud & s & pin & i (S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *ud & ž & pin & i*

oǰ & s & pin & i (S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *oǰ & ž & pin & i*

pu:ǰ & s & pin & i (S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *pu:ǰ & ž & pin & i*

2 47. $s \longrightarrow \text{\textcircled{S}} \left/ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} i \\ k \\ g \\ x \end{array} \right\} \right. \& \text{---}$

ot & s & pin & i [4.3.1.2.2] \longrightarrow *ot & \text{\textcircled{S}} & pin & i*

poł & s & pin & i [4.3.1.2.2] \longrightarrow *poł & \text{\textcircled{S}} & pin & i*

a foł & s & pin & i [4.3.1.2.2] \longrightarrow *a foł & \text{\textcircled{S}} & pin & i*

wī·rīt & s & pin & i [4.3.1.2.2] \longrightarrow *wī rīt & s & pin & i*

nwī:t & s & pin & i (S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *nwī:t & \text{\textcircled{S}} & pin & i*

ni t & s & pin & i (S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *ni t & \text{\textcircled{S}} & pin & i*

puk & s & pin & i [4.3.1.2.2] \longrightarrow *puk & \text{\textcircled{S}} & pin & i*

kark & s & pin & i (S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *kark & s & pin & i*

tīrk & s & pin & i (S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *tīrk & \text{\textcircled{S}} & pin & i*

moṛk & s & pin & i (S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *moṛk & ṣ & pin & i*

omk & s & pin & i (S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *omk & ṣ & pin & i*

wa:g & s & pin & i (S.2.26 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *wa:g & ṣ & pin & i*

2.48. $s \longrightarrow z / ḍ \& -$

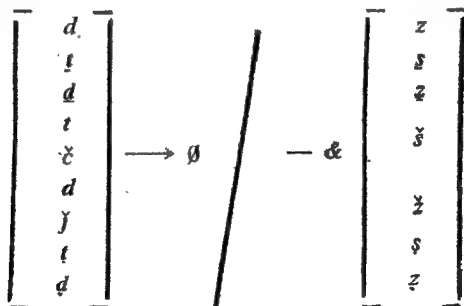
nīḍ & s & pin & i [4.3.1.2.2] \longrightarrow *nīḍ & ṛ & pin & i*

kwīḍ & s & pin & i [4.3.1.2.2] \longrightarrow *kwīḍ & ṛ & pin & i*

teṣkwīḍ & s & pin & i [4.3.1.2.2] \longrightarrow *teṣkwīḍ & ṛ & pin & i*

koḍ & s & pin & i (S.2.40 4.3.1.2.2) \longrightarrow *koḍ & ṛ & pin & i*

2.49.



pod & z & pin & i [S.2.42] \longrightarrow *poḍ & z & pin & i*

toḍ & z & pin & i [S.2.42] \longrightarrow *toḍ & z & pin & i*

u:ḍ & z & pin & i [S.2.42] \longrightarrow *u: & z & pin & i*

sō:ḍ & z & pin & i [S.2.42] \longrightarrow *sō: & z & pin & i*

<i>pĩṭ & ṣ & pin & i</i>	(S.2.43)	—>	<i>pĩ & ṣ & pin & i</i>
<i>mu:neṭ & ṣ & pin & i</i>	(S.2.43)	—>	<i>mu:ne & ṣ & pin & i</i>
<i>tũṭ & ṣ & pin & i</i>	(S.2.43)	—>	<i>tũ & ṣ & pin & i</i>
<i>no:t & ṣ & pin & i</i>	(S.2.43)	—>	<i>nq: & ṣ & pin & i</i>
<i>nĩḍ & ẓ & pin & i</i>	(S.2.44)	—>	<i>nĩ & ẓ & pin & i</i>
<i>kaḍ & ẓ & pin & i</i>	(S.2.44)	—>	<i>ka & ẓ & pin & i</i>
<i>ĩḍ & ẓ & pin & i</i>	(S.2.44)	—>	<i>ĩ & ẓ & pin & i</i>
<i>ĩwĩ:ḍ & ẓ & pin & i</i>	(S.2.44)	—>	<i>ĩwĩ: & ẓ & pin & i</i>
<i>pĩt & š & pin & i</i>	(S.2.45)	—>	<i>pĩ & š & pin & i</i>
<i>e:mo:t & š & pin & i</i>	(S.2.45)	—>	<i>e:mo: & š & pin & i</i>
<i>pint & š & pin & i</i>	(S.2.45)	—>	<i>pĩn & š & pin & i</i>
<i>ki:č & š & pin & i</i>	(S.2.45)	—>	<i>ki: & š & pin & i</i>
<i>ko:č & š & pin & i</i>	(S.2.45)	—>	<i>ko: & š & pin & i</i>
<i>u:č & š & pin & i</i>	(S.2.45)	—>	<i>u: & š & pin & i</i>
<i>ked & ž & pin & i</i>	(S.2.46)	—>	<i>ke & ž & pin & i</i>
<i>ni:d & ž & pin & i</i>	(S.2.46)	—>	<i>ni: & ž & pin & i</i>
<i>ud & ž & pin & i</i>	(S.2.46)	—>	<i>u & ž & pin & i</i>
<i>oḣ & ž & pin & i</i>	(S.2.46)	—>	<i>o & ž & pin & i</i>
<i>pu:ḣ & ž & pin & i</i>	(S.2.46)	—>	<i>pu: & ž & pin & i</i>
<i>oṭ & š & pin & i</i>	(S.2.47)	—>	<i>o & š & pin & i</i>
<i>pot & š & pin & i</i>	(S.2.47)	—>	<i>po & š & pin & i</i>
<i>a:foṭ & š & pin & i</i>	(S.2.47)	—>	<i>a:fo & š & pin & i</i>
<i>wĩ:rĩṭ & š & pin & i</i>	(S.2.47)	—>	<i>wĩ:rĩ & š & pin & i</i>

<i>nwī:t & š & pin & i</i>	(S.2.47)	—>	<i>nwī: & š & pin &</i>
<i>ni:t & š & pin & i</i>	(S.2.47)	—>	<i>ni: & š & pin & i</i>
<i>ni:d & z & pin & i</i>	(S.2.48)	—>	<i>nī: & z & pin & i</i>
<i>kwīd & z & pin & i</i>	(S.2.48)	—>	<i>kwī & z & pin & i</i>
<i>teškwīd & z & pin & i</i>	(S.2.48)	—>	<i>teškwī & z & pin & i</i>
<i>kođ & z & pin & i</i>	(S.2.48)	—>	<i>ko & z & pin & i</i>

2.50 $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{sib} \end{array} \right\} + t \longrightarrow \check{c}$

<i>pi:š & t & i</i>	(4.18.3.1)	—>	<i>pi:č & i</i>
<i>e:mo:š & t & i</i>	(4.18.3.1)	—>	<i>e:mo:č & i</i>
<i>pūšodš & t & i</i>	(4.18.3.1)	—>	<i>pūšodč & i</i>
<i>pars & t & i</i>	(4.18.3.1)	—>	<i>parč & i</i>

2.51. $ak \longrightarrow a:k \quad / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{mu} \\ \text{wīnbo} \end{array} \right\} \& -$

<i>mu & ak</i>	(3.6.3.1)	—>	<i>mu & a:k</i>
<i>wīnbo & ak</i>	(3.6.9.2)	—>	<i>wīnbo & a:k</i>

2.52. $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} u \\ o \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow \emptyset \quad / - \& a:$

<i>mu & a:k</i>	(S.2.51)	—>	<i>ma:k</i>
<i>wīnbo & a:k</i>	(S.2.51)	—>	<i>wīnba:k</i>

2.53. $\emptyset \longrightarrow \emptyset / - \& V$

V stands for vowels

po:r & o & en & i (4.5.1.1) \longrightarrow *po:r & en & i*

po:r & o & ĩy & i (4.5.1.1) \longrightarrow *po:r & ĩy & i*

nĭl & o & im & i (4.5.1.1) \longrightarrow *nĭl & im & i*

nĭl & o & um & i (4.5.1.1) \longrightarrow *nĭl & um & i*

uŋ & o & en & i (4.18.1.5) \longrightarrow *uŋ & en & i*

pod & kĭs & o & en & i (4.18.1.5) \longrightarrow *pod & kĭs & en & i*

pod & kĭs & o & ĩy & i (4.18.3.1) \longrightarrow *pod & kĭs & ĩy & i*

pod & kĭs & o & um & i (4.18.1.13) \longrightarrow *pod & kĭs & um & i*

2.54. $\begin{bmatrix} \overline{po:r} \\ \overline{to:r} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \overline{po:} \\ \overline{to:} \end{bmatrix} / - \& \#$

$\# po:r \# \longrightarrow \# po: \#$

$\# to:r \# \longrightarrow \# to: \#$

3

Nouns

3.0. Nouns are those which do not take tense suffixes but do take or are capable of taking case suffixes.

3.1. *Gender-Number suffixes*

In Toda there is no gender distinction. Toda has completely lost the gender distinction and in this language *ae* means both 'that person' and 'that thing' and the corresponding plural *aea:m* means both 'those persons' and 'those things'. Toda has only number distinction in pronouns and personal distinction in the finite verbs. However we can recognize masculine and feminine gender in certain nouns in the morphological level.

3.1.1. *Masculine Singular*

$$\{ -n \}$$

$$\infty -n, \infty -o:t, \infty -f, \infty -\emptyset$$
3.1.1.1. $\infty -n$ occurs after these stems

Ex. <i>konody-n</i>	'Canarese man'
<i>par-n</i>	'Pariah caste man'
<i>kumo:t-n</i>	'potter'
<i>wokil-n</i>	'Vakkaliga caste man'
<i>to:xil-n</i>	'goldsmith'
<i>sakli-n</i>	'cobbler'
<i>orf-n</i>	'Brahmin' (one sect of Badaga)
<i>sulk-n</i>	'muslim man'
<i>osx-n</i>	'washer man'
<i>koraf-n</i>	'man of Korva caste'
<i>to:xil-n</i>	'carpenter'
<i>pal-n</i>	'Valaiyan'
<i>pori-n</i>	'Paniya tribe'
<i>kasf-n</i>	'Kasaba tribe'
<i>kocxo:t-n</i>	'brass worker'
<i>ko:tyxo:t-n</i>	'clever person'
<i>axexo:t-n</i>	'enemy'
<i>kwal-yxo:t-n</i>	'murderer'
<i>mo:dixa-n</i>	'man of low caste'
<i>mon-yxo:t-n</i>	'Govt. appointed man'

<i>kwaltxo:ɾ-n</i>		‘person who does building work’
<i>pilyxo:ɾ-n</i>		‘sorcerer’
<i>kofɖ-n</i> (2.17)	—> <i>kofɖn</i>	‘man of Gowda caste’
<i>wɪɖ-n</i> (2.17)	—> <i>wɪɖn</i>	‘name of a caste’
<i>koɭn</i> (2.17)	—> <i>koɭn</i>	‘thief’
<i>no:ʂ-n</i> (2.18)	—> <i>no:ʂn</i>	‘barber’
<i>pe:t-n</i> (2.17)	—> <i>pe:tɳ</i>	‘name of caste’
<i>pɪt-n</i> (2.17)	—> <i>pɪtɳ</i>	‘foolish fellow’
<i>eɾ-n</i> (2.17)	—> <i>eɾn</i>	‘shepherd’

3.1.1.2. ∞ -o:ʈ occurs after these stems

Ex. <i>kel-o:ʈ</i>	‘old man’
<i>wɪʂ-o:ʈ</i>	‘dairy man’
<i>per-o:ʈ</i>	‘ordinary person’
<i>mo:r-o:ʈ</i>	‘man of <i>melga:ʂ</i> clan’
<i>poy-o:ʈ</i>	‘male affinal relative’
<i>kamaso:ɾ-o:ʈ</i>	‘legendary Todas’
<i>tɔw-o:ʈ</i>	‘diviner’
<i>tu:θ-o:ʈ</i>	‘messenger’
<i>e:f-o:ʈ</i>	‘servant’
<i>mod-o:ʈ</i>	‘man of same village’

3.1.1.3 ∞ -f occurs after the stem

Ex. <i>kwɪ:-f</i>	‘Kota tribe’
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3.1.1.4. $\infty - \emptyset$ occurs after these stems

Ex. <i>kurub</i> - \emptyset	\rightarrow <i>kurub</i>	'Kurumba tribe'
<i>erɕ</i> - \emptyset	\rightarrow <i>erɕ</i>	'Irula tribe'
<i>ars</i> - \emptyset	\rightarrow <i>ars</i>	'whiteman, European'
<i>sity</i> - \emptyset	\rightarrow <i>sity</i>	'man of Chettiar caste'
<i>twi:ty</i> - \emptyset	\rightarrow <i>twi:ty</i>	'scavanger'
<i>wiɖe:r</i> - \emptyset	\rightarrow <i>wiɖe:r</i>	'man of Udaiyar caste'

3.1.2. *Feminine Singular*

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -\check{c} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\infty - \check{c} \quad \infty - o\check{c} \quad \infty - ty \quad \infty - xity \quad \infty - i$$
3.1.2.1. $\infty - \check{c}$ occur after these stems

Ex. <i>kurub</i> - \check{c}	'Kurumba woman'
<i>erɕ</i> - \check{c}	'Irula woman'
<i>eɕ</i> - \check{c}	'woman of shepherd'
<i>poɳi</i> - \check{c}	'Paniya woman'
<i>wokɪl</i> - \check{c}	'Vakkaliga woman'
<i>pe:t</i> - \check{c}	'woman of <i>pe:tɳ</i> '
<i>konodɣ</i> - \check{c}	'Canarese woman'
<i>paɾ</i> - \check{c}	'Pariah woman'
<i>sity</i> - \check{c}	'woman of Chettiar caste'
<i>sakli</i> - \check{c}	'woman of cobbler'
<i>tulk</i> - \check{c}	'Muslim woman'
<i>wiɖ</i> - \check{c}	'woman of <i>wiɖɳ</i> caste'

3.1.2.2. $\infty - o\check{c}$ occurs after this stem

Ex. <i>kel</i> - $o\check{c}$	'old woman'
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3.1.2.3. ∞ -*xĩty* occurs after this stem

Ex. *no:s-xĩty* 'barber woman'

3.1.2.4. ∞ -*ty* occurs after these stems

Ex. *osx-ty* 'washer woman'
kwĩ:-ty 'woman of Kota tribe'
kasf-ty 'woman of Kasaba tribe'
wĩrxĩ-ty 'husband's brother's wife'
ô:rf-ty 'Brahmin woman lower sect of Badaga)
maɖ-ty 'non-Toda woman'
ma:dixa-ty 'woman of lower caste'

3.1.2.5. ∞ -*i* occurs after the stem

Ex. *kiçĩstĩ-i* 'Christian woman'

3.1.3. *Non-neuter*

{ -*ry* }

3.1.3.1. \sim -*ry* occurs after the stem *o:-*

Ex. *o:-ry* 'who'

3.1.4. *Number suffixes*

In Toda, first, second and reflexive pronouns distinguish only number.

Ex. *o:n* 'I'
om 'we (incl.)'
em 'we (excl.)'

<i>nī:</i>	‘you (sg.)’
<i>nīm</i>	‘you (pl)’
<i>to:n</i>	‘oneself’
<i>tam</i>	‘themselves’

3.1.4.1. Singular

{ -*n* }

∞ -*n*, ∞ - \emptyset , ∞ - \emptyset

3.1.4.1.1. ∞ - \emptyset occurs after the demonstrative base *a-*

Ex. *a- \emptyset* ‘he / she / it-that’

3.1.4.1.2. ∞ - \emptyset occurs after the second person stem

Ex. *nī:- \emptyset* \rightarrow *nī:* ‘you (sg.)’

3.1.4.1.3. ∞ -*n* occurs elsewhere

Ex. *o:-n* ‘I’

e-n-a:l \rightarrow *ena:l* ‘by me’

nī-n-a:l \rightarrow *nīna:l* ‘by you’

to:-n ‘oneself’

3.1.4.2. Plural

{ -*m* }

∞ -*m*, ∞ -*a:m*

3.1.4.2.1. ∞ -*m* occurs after the first person (both inclusive and exclusive) and second person and reflexive stems.

Ex. <i>o-m</i>	'we (incl.)'
<i>e-m</i>	'we (excl.)'
<i>nī-m</i>	'you (pl.)'
<i>ta-m</i>	'themselves'

5.1.4.2.2. *Common plural*

∞ - *a:m* occurs elsewhere

Ex. <i>aə-a:m</i>	'they / those'
<i>o:ɛ-a:m</i>	'Toda men'
<i>tojmox-a:m</i>	'Toda women'
<i>mox-a:m</i>	'boys'
<i>ku:x-a:m</i>	'girls'
<i>pö:ɾ-a:m</i>	'Tamilians'
<i>ma:f-a:m</i>	'Badagas'
<i>kwī:f-a:m</i>	'Kotas'
<i>püşy-a:m</i>	'tigers'
<i>pe:ɛ-a:m</i>	'fingers'
<i>īr-a:m</i>	'buffaloes'
<i>me:ŋ-a:m</i>	'tress'
<i>pöɛk a:m</i>	'lamps'

3.2. *Cases*

3.2.1 *Inflexional increments*

{ -t- }

∞ -n-, ∞ -t-

- 3.2.1.1. ∞ -*n*- occurs after third person pronoun and after nouns and before instrumental case suffix *-a:l*.

Ex. *aθ-n-a:l* 'by that-it'
iθ-n-a:l 'by this-it'
ak ku:x-n-a:l enk upum kaşm İyi
 'I have problems because of her'

- 3.2.1.2. ∞ -*t*- occurs after the stems ending in *-m* and before dative and locative case suffixes.

Ex. *sonm-t-k* (2.7) \rightarrow *Sontk* 'to people'
ku:qm-t-k (2.7) \rightarrow *ku:qtk* 'to the meeting'
no:ym-t-k (2.7) \rightarrow *no:yt k* 'to the assembly'
kİnm-t-k (2.7) \rightarrow *kİntk* 'to cup'
pojo:rm-t-k (2.7) \rightarrow *pojo:rtk* 'to Ootacamund'
me:q-t-k \rightarrow *me:qtk* 'to the tree'
me:q-t-ş \rightarrow *me:q-tş* 'in the tree'

3.2.2. Case suffixes

Cases are ten in number

3.2.2.1. Accusative

{ -*n* }

~ -*n*

~ -*n* occurs after all stems

Ex. *wİrfed-n* 'younger brother (obj.)'
o:ʔ-n (2.17) \rightarrow *o:ʔn* 'Toda man (obj.)'

<i>ku:x-n paʃ</i>	'catch the girl'
<i>koɾ-n pe:t</i>	'drive the calf'
<i>o:n ɪne:r nīm-n koʒpini</i>	'I saw you yesterday'
<i>o:n ɪr-n pi:ʃkpini</i>	'I kill buffalo'
<i>aə en wiɾʃed-n pɪsti</i>	'He beats my younger brother'

3.2.2.2. Instrumental

{ -a:l }

∞ -a:l, -id, ∞ -a:ɾ, ∞ -it

∞ -a:ɾ occurs after noun stems 'belonging to human body parts.

Ex. <i>koŋ-a:ɾ</i>	'with eye'
<i>kɪfy-a:ɾ</i>	'with ear'
<i>koy-a:ɾ</i>	'with hand'
<i>po:y-a:ɾ</i>	'with mouth'
<i>o:n koŋ-a:ɾ koʒpini</i>	'I saw with eye'
<i>o:n kɪfy-a:ɾ ke:tkin</i>	'I hear with ear'
<i>o:n po:y-a:ɾ af:oɾpini</i>	'I talk with mouth'
<i>o:n koy-a:ɾ kelc kɪspini</i>	'I did work with hand'

∞ -it occurs after noun stems belonging to inanimate class (other than the above).

Ex. <i>moʃt-it</i>	'with an axe'
<i>mod-it</i>	'with chuning rod'
<i>tu:ɾy-it</i>	'with knife'

o:n mošt-iṭ me:n kwartpini 'I cut the tree with axe'

e:n mod-iṭ po:g kaṛəpini 'I churn milk with
churning rod'

o:n tu:ry-iṭ perx kwartpini 'I cut the fuel with knife'

∞-a:l occurs elsewhere and it is in free variation with -id.

Ex. *om-a:l*

om-id 'by us'

nīn-a:l

nīn-id 'by you'

en-a:l

en-id 'by me'

ae-n-a:l 'by that'

iə-n-al 'by this'

ak ku:x-n-a:l enk upum kaşm İyi

ak ku:x-id enk upum kaşm İyi

'I have troubles because of that girl'

3.2.2.3. Sociative

{ -pody }

~ -pody, -wīṭ

~ -pody occurs after all stems and it is in free variation with -wīṭ.

Ex. *en-pody*

'with me'

en-wīṭ

nīn-pody

'with you'

nīn-wīṭ

<i>kurub-pody</i>	'with Kurumba tribe'
<i>kurub-wīṛ</i>	
<i>nīn-pody o:n paškin</i>	'I come with you'
<i>nīn-wīṛ o:n paškin</i>	
<i>piṭyxe:n-wīṛ o:n makolk podpini</i>	'I will come with Pelikan to-morrow'
<i>īr-pody kor padī</i>	'calf comes with buffalo'
<i>pō:ṛ-wīṛ fō:ṛ</i>	'Tamilians with Tamilians'
<i>ars-wīṛ ars</i>	'Europeans with Europeans'
<i>tojmox-wīṛ a:foṛoṭi</i>	'Do not talk with Toda woman'
<i>nīn-pody tīnkin</i>	'I eat with you'

3.2.2.4. Dative

{ -k }
~ -k

~-k occurs after all stems

Ex. <i>en-k</i>	'to me'
<i>nīn-k</i>	'to you'
<i>a:s-k</i>	'to house'
<i>poṭy-k</i>	'to dairy'
<i>ko:tfoy-k</i>	'to wife'
<i>moq-k</i>	'to Toda mund'
<i>sonm-t-k</i> (2.7) —>	<i>sontk</i> 'to people'
<i>no:ym-t-k</i> (2.7) —>	<i>no:ytk</i> 'to the assembly'

kīnm-t-k (2.7) —> *kīnk* 'to cup'

kō:r-k (2.8) —> *kō:rk* 'to lake'

ae īne:r to:rō: rmod-k pi:či

'He went to Taranad mund yesterday'

nīn-k in pe:k? 'What do you want?'

ni: etfīn u:r-k pi:ti 'When did you go home'

en-k mu:d ku:x wīḍy 'I have three daughters'

Dative is also used in the locative and purposive sense in Toda language.¹

ekaṛfoṭk 'in the evening'

o:n pu:txuḥy poṭyk poṣpini 'I kept cloak in the box'

en afk po:g e:s pozpini

'I have brought milk for my mother'

3.2.2.5. Ablative

{ -sn }

~ -sn

~ -sn occurs after all the stems

1. Dative is used in locative sense in Sangam Tamil literature also.

Kiḷaiyari na:ṇar kiḷaṅku maṇar ki:nṇa

muḷaiyo: ranna muḷḷeyiṛrut tuvarva:y (Akam, 212)

In Malayalam language also dative is used in the locative, genitive and purposive sense.

Gundert, A; *Malayala Bhasavyakaranam* p. 153-157, 1868

Ex. <i>aʔ-gn</i>			'from there'
<i>iʔ-gn</i>			'from here'
<i>eʔ-gn?</i>			'from where?'
<i>moq-gn</i>			'from the mund'
<i>kwɪ:ko:l-gn</i>			'from Kota village'
<i>pojo:rm-t-gn</i> (2.7)	—>	<i>pojo:rt-gn</i>	'from Ootacamund'
<i>i:škity-gn</i> (2.14)	—>	<i>i:škity-šn</i>	'from Ka:s mund'
<i>koce:ry-gn</i> (2.14)	—>	<i>koce:ry-šn</i>	'from court'
<i>uʔ-gn</i> (2.15,17)	—>	<i>uʔ-šn</i>	'from inside'
<i>ko:ʔəw-gn</i> (2.15,17)	—>	<i>ko:ʔəw-šn</i>	'from Nirj mund'
<i>o:n melga:s moq-gn pozpini</i>			'I came from Garden mund'
<i>o:n pojo:rt-gn pozpini</i>			'I came from Ootacamund'

3.2 2.6. Genitive

{ -n }

~-n

Ex. <i>nɪn-n a:s</i> (2.18)	—>	<i>nɪn a:s</i>	'your house'
<i>en-n a:s</i> (2.18)	—>	<i>en a:s</i>	'my house'
<i>nɪn-n ɪr</i> (2.18)	—>	<i>nɪn ɪr</i>	'your buffalo'
<i>en o:ʔ-n</i> (2.17)	—>	<i>en o:ʔn</i>	'my husband's'
<i>en wɪʃfed-n o:ʔ</i>			'my younger sister's husband'
<i>en ok-n o:ʔ</i>			'my elder sister's husband'

<i>ku:x-n o:t</i>	'daughter's husband'
<i>ku:x-n-mox</i>	'daughter's son'
<i>en o:tɛn dan ok-n o:t</i>	'my husband's elder sister's husband'

3.2.2.7. *Locative*

{ -s }

∞ -s ∞ -kɪdɕ

∞ *kɪdɕ* occurs after animate nouns

Ex. <i>en-kɪdɕ</i>	'with me'
<i>an-kɪdɕ</i>	'with him'
<i>ku:x-kɪdɕ</i>	'with girl'
<i>an-kɪdɕ poŋm o:ɾəy</i>	'He has no money'
<i>an-kɪdɕ upum ɪr wɪɖy</i>	'He has more buffaloes'
<i>ak ku:x-kɪdɕ upum pu:ɪxuɕy wɪɖy</i>	'That girl has more cloaks'
<i>kor-kɪdɕ a:py upum wɪɖy</i>	'There is much cowdung near the calf'

∞ -s occurs elsewhere

Ex. <i>me:n-t-s</i> → <i>me:ntɕ</i>	'in the tree'
<i>Kaʃtal-s</i>	'in the darkness'
<i>ekarɟot-s</i>	'in the evening'
<i>em u:r-s neln upum wɪɖy</i>	'we have more lands in our village'

<i>mu:d poʃy-s</i>	(2.14) —>	<i>mu:d poʃyš</i>	‘in three dairies’
<i>kulo:y-s</i>	(2.14) —>	<i>kulo:yš</i>	‘in the tap’
<i>aɖy-s</i>	(2.14) —>	<i>aɖyš</i>	‘in the pot’
<i>po:y-s</i>	(2.14) —>	<i>po:yš</i>	‘in the mouth’
<i>pax uʔ-s</i>	(2.15) —>	<i>pax uʔs</i>	‘in the midst of cloud’
<i>mu:d twi:s</i>	(2.16) —	<i>mu:d twi:ʔ</i>	‘in three pens’

3.2 2.8. *Purposive*

{ -go:y }

~ -go:y

~ -go:y occurs after all stems

Ex. <i>en-go:y</i>	‘for my sake’
<i>nīn-go:y</i>	‘for your sake’
<i>an-go:y</i>	‘for his / her sake’
<i>en-go:y i kelc kīy</i>	‘Do this work for my sake’
<i>nīn-goy i:nk pozpini</i>	‘I came here for your sake’
<i>ka:wxwītŋ en-go:y i kelc kīstī</i>	‘Kawkuttan works for us’
<i>nīn-go:y o:n am moɖk pi:špini</i>	‘I went to that mund for your sake’
<i>an-go:y i kelc kīspini</i>	‘I did this work for his sake’

3.2.2.9. *Vocative*

$$\{ -a: \}$$
 $\infty -a: \quad \infty -ya: \quad \infty -\emptyset$
 $\infty -a:$ occurs after these stems.

Ex. $on \rightarrow on-a:$ 'oh my elder brother'

$piaf \rightarrow piaf-a:$ 'oh my grand mother'

$eyi:-a \text{ (2.19)} \rightarrow eya:$ 'oh my father'

$okn-a \text{ (2.19)} \rightarrow oka:$ 'oh my elder sister'

 $\infty -ya:$ occurs after these stems

Ex. $mox \text{ } mox-ya:$ 'oh son'

$ku:x \text{ } ku:x-ya:$ 'oh daughter'

$o:t \text{ } o:t-ya:$ 'oh husband'

$tojmoX \text{ } tojmax-ya:$ 'oh wife'

 $\infty -\emptyset$ occurs elsewhere

Ex. $mutna:s-\emptyset \text{ } mutna:s$ 'oh Mutnas'

$to:j-\emptyset \text{ } to:j$ 'oh Taj'

$ka:wxwĩn-\emptyset \text{ } ka:wxwĩn$ 'oh Kawkuttan'

$artofĩn-\emptyset \text{ } artofĩn$ 'oh Artapin'

$tõwbnĩs-\emptyset \text{ } tõwbnĩs$ 'oh tebnis'

$nesfiťy-\emptyset \text{ } nesfiťy$ 'oh Nespily'

3.3. *Stem classification*

All those stems which can take gender-number suffixes belong to this class and they are classified on the basis of the

masculine suffix they take. Each main class is further subdivided on the basis of feminine suffixes they take.

3.3.1. Those stems which take masculine suffix *-n* belong to this class.

Ex. <i>konodɔ-n</i>	'Canarese man'
<i>paɾ-n</i>	'man of Pariah caste'
<i>wokɪl-n</i>	'man of Vakkaliga'
<i>tulk-n</i>	'Muslim man'
<i>toɽxɪ-n</i>	'Goldsmith'
<i>osx-n</i>	'Washerman'
<i>kasf-n</i>	'Kasaba tribe'
<i>no:ʃ-n</i> (2.17) —> <i>no:ʃn</i>	'Barber'

3.3.1.1. Those stems which take *-č* as feminine suffix.

Ex. <i>konodɔ-č</i>	'Canarese woman'
<i>paɾ-č</i>	'woman of Pariah caste'
<i>wokɪl-č</i>	'woman of Vakkaliga caste'
<i>tulk-č</i>	'Muslim woman'
<i>poɽɪ-č</i>	'Paniya tribe'
<i>kofɔ-č</i>	'woman of Gowda caste'
<i>wɪɖ-č</i>	'woman of <i>wɪɖn</i> caste'
<i>pe:t-č</i>	'woman of <i>pe:tɾ</i> '
<i>eɽ-č</i>	'shepherd woman'

3.3.1.2. Those which take *-ty* as feminine suffix.

Ex. <i>toɽxɪ-ty</i>	'woman of Goldsmith'
<i>o:ɾf-ty</i>	'Brahmin woman (one sect of Badaga)'

<i>osx-ty</i>	‘Washerwoman’
<i>mo:dixa-ty</i>	‘woman of <i>mo:dixan</i> ’
<i>kasf-ty</i>	‘woman of Kasaba tribe’

3.3.1.3. Those which take *-xīty* as feminine suffix.

Ex. <i>no:ṣ-xīty</i>	‘barber woman’
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3.3.2. Those stems which take *-o:ṭ* as masculine suffix belong to this class.

Ex. <i>kel-o:ṭ</i>	‘old man’
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3.3.2.1. Those which take *-oč* as feminine suffix.

Ex. <i>kel-oč</i>	‘old woman’
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3.3.3. Those which take *-f* as masculine suffix belong to this class

Ex. <i>kwī:-f</i>	‘Kota man’
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3.3.3.1. Those which take *-ty* as feminine suffix

Ex. <i>kwī:-ty</i>	‘Kota woman’
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3.3.4. Those which take *-ø* as masculine suffix belong to this class.

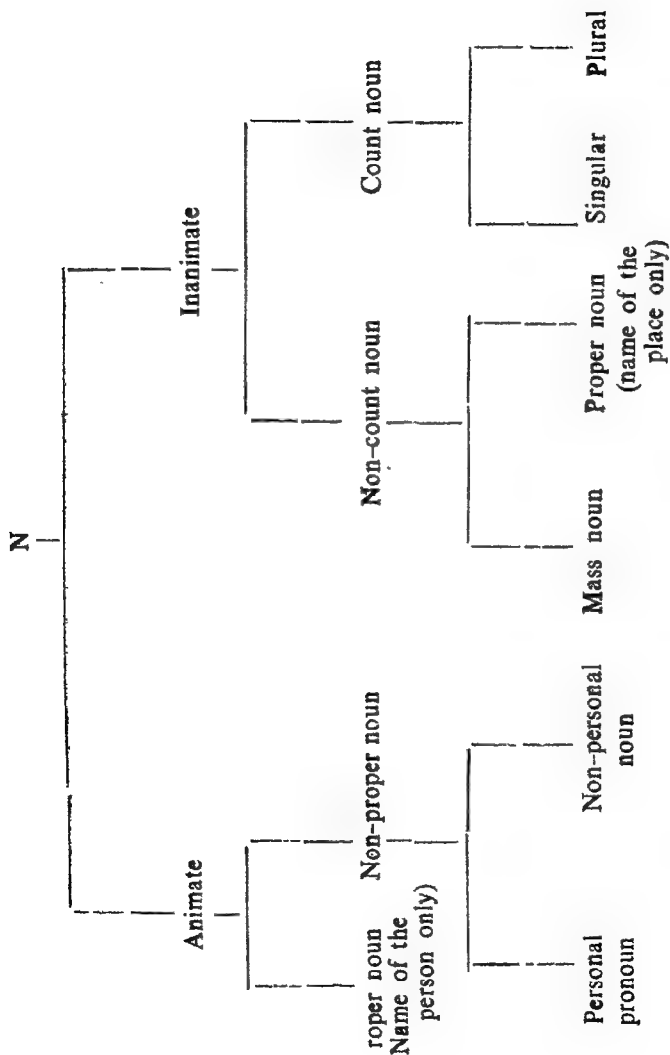
Ex. <i>kurub-ø</i>	→ <i>kurub</i>	‘Kurumba tribe’
<i>erṭ-ø</i>	→ <i>erṭ</i>	‘Irula tribe’
<i>sity-ø</i>	→ <i>sity</i>	‘Chettiar’
<i>twī:ty-ø</i>	→ <i>twī:ty</i>	‘scavenger’
<i>wīḍe:r-ø</i>	→ <i>wīḍe:r</i>	‘man of Udaiyar caste’

3.3.4.1. Those which take -č̣ as feminine suffix

Ex. <i>kurub</i> -č̣	‘woman of Kurumba tribe’
<i>erč̣</i> -č̣	‘woman of Irula tribe’
<i>sity</i> -č̣	‘Chettiar woman’
<i>twī:ty</i> -č̣	‘scavenger woman’
<i>wīde:r</i> -č̣	‘woman of Udaiyar caste’

3.4. Inherent noun

The inherent nouns in Toda can be classified into two main classes, animate and inanimate. This classification is necessitated because certain nouns take *-kīḍṣ* as the locative case sign and certain others do not. Those which take *-kīḍṣ* are classified here as animate and the rest inanimate.



3.4.1. *Animate nouns*

Animate nouns are of two types. They are 1) Proper nouns and 2) Non-proper nouns. Non-proper nouns are further classified into personal nouns and non-personal nouns.

3.4.1.1. *Proper nouns*

Proper nouns are those which denote the names of person and they do not take plural suffix.

Ex. <i>tōwbnĩs</i>	<i>pi:ldynĩs</i>
<i>artofĩn</i>	<i>tũṭcwĩ:nĩs</i>
<i>erci:əy</i>	<i>ercigyfu:f</i>
<i>ĩrkwĩrfĩn</i>	<i>kōbu:fiťy</i>
<i>koʀofxwĩťn</i>	<i>maʒno:fiťy</i>
<i>kwĩťnaʒ</i>	<i>neʒfiťy</i>
<i>mu:nbo:wxwĩťn</i>	<i>pĩnswĩle:my</i>
<i>nō:ʀo:ngwĩ:ʀ</i>	

3.4.1.2. *Non-proper nouns*

As already mentioned non-proper nouns are classified into 1) personal pronouns 2) non-personal nouns.

3.4.1.2.1. *Personal pronouns*

Ex. <i>ə:n</i>	‘I’
<i>əm</i>	‘we (incl.)’
<i>em</i>	‘we (excl.)’
<i>ni:</i>	‘you (sg.)’

<i>nīm</i>	'you (pl.)'
<i>ae</i>	'he / she / it'
<i>aea:m</i>	'they / those'

3.4.1.2.2. Non-personal nouns are those which can take attributes.

Ex. <i>tojmo:x</i>	'Toda woman'
<i>mo:x</i>	'boy'
<i>ku:x</i>	'girl'
<i>kurub</i>	'Kurumba tribe'
<i>ma:f</i>	'Badaga man'
<i>ars</i>	'king'
<i>erɕ</i>	'Irula'
<i>kopaɳ</i>	'butterfly'
<i>kō:g</i>	'barking deer'
<i>ka:ɭy</i>	'stud bull'
<i>kwaɭy</i>	'cat'
<i>ɪr</i>	'buffalo'
<i>paɣy</i>	'lizard'
<i>ka:k</i>	'crow'
<i>katy</i>	'ass'
<i>püsy</i>	'tiger'
<i>koɾ</i>	'buffalo calf'

3.4 2. Inanimate nouns

Inanimate nouns can be classified into 1. non-count nouns and 2. count nouns. Non-count nouns are further classified into 1. mass noun and 2. proper noun.

Count noun takes or is capable of taking the common plural marker *-a:m* whereas proper noun (name of a place) and mass noun do not.

3.4.2.1. Proper nouns are those which denote the name of the place and do not take plural suffix.

Ex. <i>moysu:r</i>	'Mysore'
<i>kwa:ymũtu:r</i>	'Coimbatore'
<i>mĩ:tpa:w</i>	'Mettupalayam'
<i>ku:lu:r</i>	'Gudalur'
<i>ku pe:ixõ:t</i>	'Gundulpet'
<i>nojĩrxudy</i>	'Nanjangod'
<i>ka:ɽmuɽ</i>	'Karamadai'
<i>kalikwa:t</i>	'Calicut'
<i>sotymogolm</i>	'Sathiamangalam'
<i>no:xu:r</i>	'Nagore'
<i>maəra:č</i>	'Madras'

3.4.2.2. Mass nouns are those which also cannot take plural suffix.

Ex. <i>nĩy</i>	'ghee'
<i>ni:r</i>	'water'
<i>po:s</i>	'milk'
<i>eŋo:y</i>	'oil'
<i>ašky</i>	'rice'

3.4.2.3. Inanimate count nouns are those which are capable of taking common plural marker *-a:m*.

Ex. <i>me:n</i>	<i>me:n-a:m</i>	'trees'
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<i>kaṣ</i>	<i>kaṣ-a:m</i>	'stones'
<i>kīḍf</i>	<i>kīḍf-a:m</i>	'shrubs'
<i>puxury</i>	<i>puxury-a:m</i>	'Toda flutes'
<i>pu:txuṭy</i>	<i>pu:txuṭy-a:m</i>	'cloaks'
<i>uly</i>	<i>uly-a:m</i>	'branding irons'
<i>toṛy</i>	<i>toṛy-a:m</i>	'poles used at funeral'

3.5. Personal pronouns

There are only two personal pronouns, first and second persons and they have number distinction viz. singular and plural. The third person is expressed by the demonstrative pronouns. In third person unlike Tamil etc. there is no gender distinction but only singular and plural number. The first person plural has two forms, an exclusive and inclusive.

3.5.1. First person

{ o:- }

∞ o:- ∞ e-

3.5.1.1. ∞ e- occurs before singular suffix -n followed by either case suffixes or nouns.

Ex. <i>e-n-a:l</i>	'by me'
<i>e-n-k</i>	'to me'
<i>e-n-pod̥y</i>	'with me'
<i>e-n-go:y</i>	'for my sake'
<i>e-n-kīḍṣ</i>	'with me'
<i>e-n-a:ṣ</i>	'my house'

3.5.1.2. $\infty o-$ occurs before singular suffix $-n$

Ex. $o:-n$ *podpini* 'I come'

$o:-n$ *pi:pini* 'I go'

3.5.1.3. *First person inclusive*

{ $o-$ }

$\infty o-$

3.5.1.3.1 $\infty o-$ occurs before plural suffix $-m$

Ex. $o-m-k$ 'to us'

$o-m-a:l$ 'by us'

$o-m-go:y$ 'for oursake'

$o-m$ *podpimi* 'we come (incl.)'

3.5.1.4. *First person exclusive*

{ $e-$ }

$\infty e-$

3.5.1.4.1. $\infty e-$ occurs before plural suffix $-m$

Ex. $e-m-n$ us (object.)

$e-m-a:l$ 'by us'

$e-m-k$ 'to us'

$e-m$ -*pody* 'with us'

$e-m$ *podpumi* 'we come (excl.)'

3.5.2. *Second person*

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ni: \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\infty ni:, \quad \infty n\bar{i}-$$

3.5.2.1. $\infty n\bar{i}-$ occurs before singular and plural suffixes $-n$ and m followed by either case suffixes or nouns.

Ex. $n\bar{i}-n-k$	'to you'
$n\bar{i}-n-a:l$	'by you'
$n\bar{i}-n-pod\bar{y}$	'with you'
$n\bar{i}-n-a:g$	'your house'
$n\bar{i}-m-n$	'you (obj.)'
$n\bar{i}-m-a:l$	'by you'
$n\bar{i}-m-k$	'to you'
$n\bar{i}-m\ kelc\ k\bar{i}s\bar{i}s\bar{i}$	'you do work'

3.5.2.2. $\infty ni:$ occurs before $-\emptyset$

Ex. $ni:-\emptyset \rightarrow ni:$	'you (Sg.)'
$ni: tw\bar{i}:r\ t\bar{i}d\bar{p}i$	'you eat food'
$ni: po:g\ uq\bar{p}i$	'you drink milk'

3.5.3. *Demonstrative pronoun*3.5.3.1. *Distant Demonstrative base*

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a- \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\sim a-$$

3.5.3.1.1. $\sim a-$

Ex. $a-\emptyset$	'that-he / she / it'
$a-\theta a:m$	'that-they / those'

3.5.3.2. *Proximate Demonstrative base*

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} i- \\ \sim i- \end{array} \right\}$$

3.5.3.2.1. $\sim i-$

Ex. $i-\emptyset$	'this-he / she / it'
$i-\theta a:m$	'this-they / those'

3.5.4. *Interrogative pronoun*

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} o:- \\ \infty o:- \quad \infty e:- \end{array} \right\}$$

3.5.4.1. $\infty o:-$ occurs before non-neuter suffix $-ry$

Ex. $o:ry$	'who'
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3.5.4.2. $\infty e:-$ occurs before genderless suffix $-\emptyset$

Ex. $e:-\emptyset$	'which'
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3.5.5. *Universal pronoun*

Universal pronoun consists of three elements, viz interrogative base, genderless suffix and non-neuter suffix and universal clitic $-um$.

$$\text{Inter. base} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Non-neuter suffix} \\ \text{Genderless suffix} \end{array} \right\} + um$$

Ex. *o:-ry-um* —> *o:ryum* 'any body'

e:-ə-um —> *e:əum* 'any thing'

3.5.6. Indefinite pronoun

Indefinite pronoun consists of three elements viz interrogative base, non-neuter, non-human suffix and indefinite clitic *-isky*

Inter. base + { Non-neuter suffix
Non-human suffix } + *isky*

Ex. *o:r-isky* —> *o:risky* 'somebody'

i-n-isky —> *inisky* 'something'

3.5.7. Reflexive

{ *to:-* }

∞ *to:* ∞ *ta-*

3.5.7.1. ∞ *ta-* occurs before singular suffix *-n* and plural suffix *-m* followed by case suffixes.

Ex. <i>ta-n-k</i>	'to oneself'
<i>ta-n-a:l</i>	'by oneself'
<i>ta-n-go:y</i>	'for ownsake'
<i>ta-m-k</i>	'to ourselves'
<i>ta-m-a:l</i>	'by ourselves'
<i>ta-m-go:y</i>	'for oursake'

3.5.7.2. ∞ *to:* occurs elsewhere

Ex. *to:-n* 'oneself'

3.6. Numerals

3.6.1. *one*

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} wīḍ \end{array} \right\}$$
 $\infty o-$, $\sim wī:r-$, $\infty muda:l$, $\infty -wīḍ$

3.6.1.1. $\infty o-$ occurs before *nu:r* 'hundred' *so:fer* 'thousand' and *kwa:w* 'ačok measure'.

Ex. <i>o nu:r</i>	'one hundred'
<i>o so:fer</i>	'one thousand'
<i>o kwa:w</i>	'eleven ačok measure'

3.6.1.2. $\sim wī:r$ occurs before *ak* 'ačok measure' and *o:r* 'year'.

Ex. <i>wī:r ak</i>	'one ačok measure'
<i>wī:r o:r</i>	'one year'

3.6.1.3. $\infty muda:l-$ occurs before ordinal and adverbial suffix *-tīrk*.

Ex. <i>muda:l- a:fīθ</i>	'first'
<i>muda:l- tīrk</i>	'once'

3.6.1.4. $\infty wīḍ$ occurs elsewhere

Ex. <i>wīḍ</i>	'one'
<i>pon wīḍ</i>	'eleven'
<i>wīḍ o:ṭ</i>	'one Toda man'
<i>wīḍ poṇm</i>	'4 Annas (old coin)'

<i>wīḍ ro:jn</i>	‘one king’
<i>wīḍ se:r</i>	‘one seer measure’
<i>wīḍ ko:s</i>	‘one rupee’
<i>wīḍ pi:čm</i>	‘one <i>vi:če</i> measure’
<i>wīḍ moŋf</i>	‘one <i>maṇaṅgu</i> measure’
<i>wīḍ moŋy</i>	‘1 o’ clock’

3.6.2. *Two*

$$\{ e:d \}$$
 $\infty \bar{i}-, \sim \bar{i}:r-, \infty e:d-$

3.6.2.1. $\infty \bar{i}-$ occurs before *poə* ‘ten’ *nu:r* ‘hundred’ and *kwa:w* ‘measure’

Ex. \bar{i} *poə* (2.5) $\rightarrow \bar{i}$ *foə* ‘twenty’

\bar{i} *nu:r* ‘two hundred’

\bar{i} *kwa:w* ‘twenty two *ačok* measure’

3.6.2.2. $\sim \bar{i}:r-$ occurs before *ak* ‘*ačok* measure’ and *o:r* ‘year’

Ex. $\bar{i}:r$ *ak* ‘two *ačok* measure’

$\bar{i}:r$ *o:r* ‘two years’

3.6.2.3. $\infty e:d-$ occurs elsewhere

Ex. *e:d* ‘two’

pon e:d ‘twelve’

e:d so:fer ‘two thousand’

e:d moŋy ‘2 o’ clock’

<i>e:ɖ poŋm</i>	‘8 Annas (old coin)’
<i>e:ɖ kwa:w</i>	‘two <i>kwa:x</i> measure’
<i>e:ɖ silyx</i>	‘two big measure’
<i>e:ɖ e:ɖ</i>	‘two each’

3.6.3. *Three*

{ *mu:ɖ* }

∞ *mu-*, ∞ *mu:ɖ-*

3.6.3.1. ∞ *mu-* occurs before *poə* ‘ten’, *nu:ɾ* ‘hundred’, *kwa:w* ‘measure’ and *ak* ‘*ačok* measure’

Ex. <i>mu poə</i>	‘thirty’
<i>mu nu:ɾ</i>	‘three hundred’
<i>mu kwa:w</i>	‘three <i>kwa:x</i> measure’
<i>mu-ak</i> (2.51, 52) —> <i>ma:k</i>	‘three <i>ačok</i> measure’

3.6.3.2. ∞ *mu:ɖ* occurs elsewhere

Ex. <i>mu:ɖ</i>	‘three’
<i>poŋ mu:ɖ</i>	‘thirteen’
<i>mu:ɖ o:tɛ</i>	‘three persons’
<i>mu:ɖ koɾ</i>	‘three calves’
<i>mu:ɖ a:s</i>	‘three houses’
<i>mu:ɖ poŋm</i>	‘12 Annas (old coin)’
<i>mu:ɖ silyx</i>	‘three big measure’
<i>mu:ɖ mu:ɖ</i>	‘three each’

3.6.4. *Four*

$$\{ \text{no:ng} \}$$

$$\infty \text{ nal-} \quad \infty \text{ no:} \quad \infty \text{ a:ng} \quad \infty \text{ no:ng-}$$
3.6.4.1. $\infty \text{ nal-}$ occurs before *poo* 'ten'Ex. *nalpoo* 'forty'3.6.4.2. $\infty \text{ no:-}$ occurs before *nu:r* 'hundred' and *kwa:w* 'measure'

Ex. *no: nu:r* 'four hundred'
no: kwa:w 'four *kwa:x* measure'

3.6.4.3. $\infty \text{ a:ng-}$ occurs after *p* denoting 'ten'

Ex. *p-a:ng* 'fourteen'
p-a:ng ak '14 *ačok* measure'

3.6.4.4. $\infty \text{ no:ng-}$ occurs elsewhere

Ex. *no:ng* 'four'
no:ng mony '4 o' clock'
no:ng o:t 'four Toda men'
no:ng so:fer 'four thousand'
no:ng ko:l '4½'
no:ng silyx 'four big measure'
no:ng nong 'four each'

3.6.5. *Five*

$$\{ \ddot{u}j \}$$
 $\infty e-$, $\infty \ddot{u}:j-$, $\infty oy-$, $\infty \ddot{u}j-$

3.6.5.1. $\infty e-$ occurs before *boə* 'ten' and *nu:ɾ* 'hundred' and it is in free variation with *oy* before *nu:ɾ*¹

Ex. <i>eboə</i>	'fifty'
<i>enu:ɾ</i>	'five hundred'
<i>oynu:ɾ</i>	'five hundred' (<i>Tōwfiɾy</i> moiety)

3.6.5.2. $\infty u:j$ occurs after *p* denoting 'ten'

Ex. <i>p-u:j</i>	'fifteen'
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3.6.5.3. $\infty oy-$ occurs before *ak* and *kwa:w*

Ex. <i>oy ak</i>	'five <i>ačok</i> measure'
<i>oy kwa:w</i>	'five <i>kwa:x</i> measure'

3.6.5.4. $\infty \ddot{u}j$ occurs elsewhere.

Ex. <i>ṽj</i>	'five'
<i>ṽj moɲy</i>	'five o' clock'
<i>ṽj o:ɾ</i>	'five Toda men'
<i>ṽj tojmoɲ</i>	'five Toda women'
<i>ṽj poɲm</i>	'five (four annas) coin'
<i>ṽj so:fer</i>	'five thousand'

1 This form occurs in *Tōwfiɾy* moiety speech.

üj silyx

‘five big measure’

üj üj

‘five each’

3.6.6. Six

{ a:r }

∞ ar-, ∞ a:r

3.6.6.1. ∞ ar- occurs before pəə ‘ten’ and kwa:w ‘measure’.

Ex. ar-pəə (2.6) → arəə ‘sixty’

ar-kwa:w ‘six kwa:x measure’

3.6.6.2. ∞ a:r occurs elsewhere

Ex. a:r ‘six’

p-a:r ‘sixteen’

a:r nu:r ‘six hundred’

a:r so:fer ‘six thousand’

a:r ak ‘six ačok measure’

a:r moŋy ‘six o’ clock’

a:r silyx ‘six big measure’

a:r a:r ‘six each’

3.6.7. Seven

{ əw }

∞ a:w- ∞ əw-

3.6.7.1. ∞ a:w- occurs after p- denoting ‘ten’

Ex. p-a:w ‘seventeen’

3.6.7.2. ∞ *ōw-* occurs elsewhere

Ex. <i>ōw</i>	'seven'
<i>ōw-poo</i> (2.6) —> <i>ōwoo</i>	'seventy'
<i>ōw nu:ɾ</i>	'seven hundred'
<i>ōw so:fer</i>	'seven thousand'
<i>ōw kwa:w</i>	'seven <i>kwa:x</i> measure'
<i>ōw silyx</i>	'seven big measure'

3.6.8. *Eight*

{ *ōt* }

∞ *u:t-* ∞ *ōt-*

3.6.8.1. ∞ *u:t-* occurs after *p-* denoting 'ten'

Ex. <i>p-u:t</i>	'eighteen'
------------------	------------

3.6.8.2. ∞ *ōt-* occurs elsewhere

Ex. <i>ōt</i>	'eight'
<i>ōt-poo</i> (2.5) —> <i>ōtfoo</i>	'eighty'
<i>ōt nu:ɾ</i>	'eight hundred'
<i>ōt so:fer</i>	'eight thousand'
<i>ōt ak</i>	'eight <i>ačok</i> measure'
<i>ōt kwa:w</i>	'eight <i>kwa:x</i> measure'
<i>ōt silyx</i>	'eight big measure'
<i>ōt ōt</i>	'eight each'

3.6.9. *Nine*

{ *wĩnboo* }

∞ *e:ɾ-* ∞ *u:nboo-*, ∞ *wĩnbo-* ∞ *winboo*

3.6.9.1. $\infty e:n-$ occurs before *boə* 'ten'

Ex. *e:nboə* 'ninety'

3.6.9.2. $\infty wĩnbo$ occurs before word juncture #

Ex. *wĩnbo nu:r* 'nine hundred'

wĩnbo so:fer 'nine thousand'

wĩnbo poŋm 'nine old coin'

wĩnbo kwa:w 'nine *kwa:x* measure'

wĩnbo silyx 'nine big measure'

wĩnbo-ak (2.51,52) \rightarrow *wĩnba:k*
'nine *ačok* measure'

3.6.9.3. $\infty u:nboə$ occurs after *p-* denoting 'ten'

Ex. *pu:nboə* 'nineteen'

3.6.9.4. $\infty wĩnboə$ occurs only as a numeral

Ex. *wĩnboə* 'nine'

3.6.10. *Ten*

{ *pot* }

$\infty pon-$, $\infty poə-$, $\infty boə-$, $\infty p-$, ∞pot

3.6.10.1. $\infty pon-$ occurs as adjective base before one, two and three.

Ex. *pon wĩd* 'eleven'

pon e:d 'twelve'

pon mu:d 'thirteen'

3.6.10.2. ∞ *poo* occurs after *mu-*, *nal-*, *ar-*, *ow-* *i-* and *ot-* denoting 'three', 'four', 'six', 'seven', 'two' and 'eight'.

Ex. <i>mupoo</i>		'thirty'
<i>nalpoo</i>		'forty'
<i>ar-poo</i> (2.6)	—>	<i>aroo</i> 'sixty'
<i>ow-poo</i> (2.6)	—>	<i>owoo</i> 'seventy'
<i>i-poo</i> (2.5)	—>	<i>ifoo</i> 'twenty'
<i>ot-poo</i> (2.5)	—>	<i>otfoo</i> 'eighty'

3.6.10.3. ∞ *boe-* occurs after *e-*, *pu:n* and *e:n*

Ex. <i>e-boe</i>	'fifty'
<i>pu:n-boe</i>	'nineteen'
<i>e:n-boe</i>	'ninety'

3.6.10.4. ∞ *p-* occurs before *-a:ng*, *-u:ʃ*, *-a:r*, *-a:w*, *u:t* and *-u:nboe*.

Ex. <i>pa:ng</i>	'fourteen'
<i>pu:ʃ</i>	'fifteen'
<i>pa:r</i>	'sixteen'
<i>pa:w</i>	'seventeen'
<i>pu:t</i>	'eighteen'
<i>pu:nboe</i>	'nineteen'

3.6.10.5. ∞ *pot* occurs elsewhere

Ex. <i>pot</i>	'ten'
<i>pot sofer</i>	'ten thousand'
<i>pot poŋm</i>	'ten old coins'

pot ak‘ten *ačok* measure’*pot kwa:w*‘ten *kwa:x* measure’3.6.11. *Hundred*{ *nu:r* }~ *nu:r*3.6.11.1. ~ *nu:r*Ex. *nu:r*

‘hundred’

nu:r wiḏ

‘hundred and one’

nu:r e:ḏ

‘hundred and two’

nu:r mu:ḏ

‘hundred and three’

nu:r no:ŋg

‘hundred and four’

nu:r ũj

‘hundred and five’

nu:r a:r

‘hundred and six’

nu:r õw

‘hundred and seven’

nu:r õʃ

‘hundred and eight’

nu:r wiŋboø

‘hundred and nine’

nu:r poø

‘hundred and ten’

nu:r ponwiḏ

‘hundred and eleven’

nu:r pone:ḏ

‘hundred and twelve’

nu:r ponmu:ḏ

‘hundred and thirteen’

nu:r pa:ŋg

‘hundred and fourteen’

nu:r pu:j

‘hundred and fifteen’

nu:r poø

‘hundred and ten’

nu:r ʃfoø

‘hundred and twenty’

<i>nu:r mupoo</i>	'hundred and thirty'
<i>nu:r nalpoo</i>	'hundred and forty'
<i>nu:r eboo</i>	'hundred and fifty'
<i>nu:r aroo</i>	'hundred and sixty'
<i>nu:r ōwoo</i>	'hundred and seventy'
<i>nu:r ōtfoo</i>	'hundred and eighty'
<i>nu:r e:ŋboo</i>	'hundred and ninety'

3.6 12. *Thousand*

{ *so:fer* }

∞ *so:fer* ∞ *so:ferm*

3.6.12.1. ∞ *so:ferm*—occurs when it is followed by numerals.

Ex. <i>so:ferm wīd</i>	'thousand and one'
<i>so:ferm e:d</i>	'thousand and two'
<i>so:ferm mu:d</i>	'thousand and three'
<i>so:ferm no:ng</i>	'thousand and four'
<i>so:ferm ūj</i>	'thousand and five'
<i>so:ferm ōt</i>	'thousand and eight'
<i>so:ferm īfoo</i>	'thousand and twenty'
<i>so:ferm nalpoo</i>	'thousand and forty'
<i>so:ferm eboo</i>	'thousand and fifty'
<i>so:ferm e:ŋboo</i>	'thousand and ninety'

3.6.12.2. ∞ *so:fer* occurs elsewhere.

Ex. <i>o so:fer</i>	'one thousand'
<i>e:d so:fer</i>	'two thousand'

<i>mu:d so:fer</i>	‘three thousand’
<i>no:ng so:fer</i>	‘four thousand’
<i>ũj so:fer</i>	‘five thousand’
<i>a:r so:fer</i>	‘six thousand’
<i>õw so:fer</i>	‘seven thousand’
<i>õt so:fer</i>	‘eight thousand’
<i>wĩnbo so:fer</i>	‘nine thousand’
<i>so:fer o:t</i>	‘thousand Todas’
<i>so:fer ĩr</i>	‘thousand buffaloes’

3.6.13. *Lakh*{ *lačm* }~ *lačm*3.6.13.1 ~ *lačm*

Ex. <i>wĩd lačm</i>	‘one lakh’
<i>e:d lačm</i>	‘two lakhs’
<i>mu:d lačm</i>	‘three lakhs’
<i>wĩd lačm-t- pot so:fer (2.7) —></i> <i>wĩd lač-t- pot so:fer</i>	‘one lakh and ten thousands’
<i>mu:d lačm-t- no:ng so:fer (2.7) —></i> <i>mu:d lač-t no:ng so:fer</i>	‘Three lakhs and four thousands’
<i>no:ng lačm-t e:d so:fer —></i> <i>no:ng lač-t e:d so:fer</i>	‘Four lakhs and two thousands’

e:ḍ lačm-t üj so:fer (2.7) —>

e:ḍ lač-t üj so:fer

‘Two lakhs and five thousands’

3.6.14. Crore

{ *kwī:ḍy* }

∞ *kwī:ḍy* ∞ *kwī:ḍym*

3.6.14.1. ∞ *kwī:ḍym* occurs when it is followed by the numeral lakhs.

Ex. *no:ng kwī:ḍym e:ḍ lačm*

‘Four crores and two lakhs’

e:ḍ kwī:ḍym mu:ḍ lačm ‘Two crores and three lakhs’

üj kwī:ḍym öḷ lačm ‘Five crores and eight lakhs’

3.6.14.2. ∞ *kwī:ḍy* occurs elsewhere

Ex. *wīḍ kwī:ḍy*

‘one crore’

e:ḍ kwī:ḍy

‘two crores’

mu:ḍ kwī:ḍy

‘three crores’

no:ng kwī:ḍy

‘four crores’

üj kwī:ḍy

‘five crores’

kwī:ḍy 1r

‘crore buffaloes’

3.7. Derivative nouns

3.7.1. Agentive suffix

St.

{ *-xo:r* }

~ - *xo:r*

3.7.1.1. ~ -xo:ɾ occurs after the nouns *karm* etc as given below.

Ex. <i>karm-xo:ɾ-n</i>	'sinner'
<i>koɽy-xo:ɾ-n</i>	'clever fellow'
<i>kwaly-xo:ɾ-n</i>	'murderer'
<i>ogody-xo:ɾ-n</i>	'person who posses shop'
<i>koɾŋ-xo:ɾ-n</i>	'person with debt'
<i>poŋm-xo:ɾ-n</i> (2.7) —> <i>poŋxo:ɾn</i>	'rich man'
<i>ašky-xo:ɾ-n</i>	'person who sells rice'
<i>kapoty-xo:ɾ-n</i>	'person who sells jaggery'
<i>eŋo:y-xo:ɾ-n</i>	'person who sells oil'
<i>kubly-xo:ɾ-n</i>	'person who sells blankets'
<i>toyl-xo:ɾ-n</i>	'Eucalyptus seller'
<i>poɽy-xo:ɾ-n</i>	'person who possessing or driving carts'
<i>so:roy-xo:ɾ-n</i>	'arrack seller'
<i>twɪ:ɪm-xo:ɾ-n</i> (2.7) —> <i>twɪ:ɪxo:ɾn</i>	'person who possess lands'
<i>paɽ-xo:ɾ-n</i>	'person who sells bangles'
<i>püɽy-xo:ɾ-n</i>	'person who sells tamarind'
<i>mɪ:n-xo:ɾ-n</i>	'person who sells fish'

This is a very productive derivation in the Toda language.

3.7.2. ~ -o:m occurs after the noun *kwɪɽbɪl/-*

Ex. <i>kwɪɽbɪl-o:m</i>	'relatives'
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3.7.3. ~ *-upm* occurs after noun *koy-*

Ex. *koy-upm* 'signature'

3.7.4. ~ *-o:ʔ* occurs in the following

Ex. *püty o:ʔ* 'wise man'

püen o:ʔ 'stranger'

soko:ʔmo:ʔ 'sick person'

modo:ʔ 'Toda village people'

3.7.5. ~ *-my* occurs after the following stems

Ex. *per-my* 'greatness, fame'

nat-my (2.10) —> *nanmy*
'goodness'

4

Verbs

4.0. Verbs are those which can take or are capable of taking tense suffixes. Verbal nouns and participial nouns take case suffixes also. Since they are derived from the verb stems, they are treated under verbs.

4.1.1. Transitive

V_{intr_2} —

{ -t- }

∞ -t- ∞ -c- ∞ -f-

4.1.1.1. ∞ -c- occurs after all the intransitive₂ of *y* class (4.22.1.3.2) *e* class (4.22.2.3.2) *t* class (4.22.3.3.2) and after the intransitive₂ of *d* class (4.22.4.3.2).

Ex. *kak-c*

‘to make to vomit’

<i>o:d-c</i>			'to make to dance'
<i>mu:x-c</i>			'to destroy'
<i>o:r-c</i>			'to settle dispute'
<i>ti:r-c</i>			'to finish'
<i>ko:y-c</i>	(2.26)	—>	<i>ko:c</i> 'to heat'
<i>kody-c</i>	(2.26)	—>	<i>koɖc</i> 'to make to disappear'
<i>tĩry-c</i>	(2.26)	—>	<i>tĩrc</i> 'to translate'
<i>naɖc</i>			'to conduct'
<i>toɳy-c</i>	(2.26)	—>	<i>toɳc</i> 'to make cool, calm'
<i>pĩxy-c</i>	(2.26)	—>	<i>pĩxc</i> 'to tighten'
<i>pũry-c</i>	(2.26)	—>	<i>pũrc</i> 'to fill'
<i>pĩɽy-c</i>	(2.26)	—>	<i>pĩɽc</i> 'to make spring forth'
<i>tũɣy-c</i>	(2.26)	—>	<i>tũɣc</i> 'to calm'
<i>kaɛ-c</i>	(2.9)	—>	<i>kalc</i> 'to teach'
<i>kõɽ-c</i>	(2.11)	—>	<i>kõɖc</i> 'to destroy'
<i>twĩ:ɣ-c</i>	(2.9)	—>	<i>twĩ:lc</i> 'to defeat'
<i>mony-c</i>	(2.26)	—>	<i>monc</i> 'to forgive'
<i>pĩɽ-c</i>			'to destroy'
<i>o:poɽ-c</i>			'to catch'
<i>tõɖxõɽ-c</i>			'to make tired'
<i>nil-c</i>			'to stop'

4.1.1.2. ∞ -t- occurs after the intransitive₂ of *y* class (4.23.1.3.1), \emptyset class (4.23.2.3.1) and after the intransitive₂ of *d* class (4.23.4.3.1)

- Ex. *alx-t* (2.3,4) —> *alk* 'to shake'
- ĩ:x-t* (2.3,4) —> *ĩ:k* 'to put down burden'

<i>oḍg-t</i>	(2.3,4)	—>	<i>oḍk</i>	‘to subdue’
<i>wīrg-t</i>	(2.3,4)	—>	<i>wīrk</i>	‘to crush’
<i>tīrb-t</i>	(2.3,4)	—>	<i>tīrp</i>	‘to turn (key)’
<i>o:ḡ-t</i>	(2.3,4)	—>	<i>o:t</i>	‘to shake’
<i>ku:r-t</i>	(2.3,4)	—>	<i>ku:t</i>	‘to join’
<i>ni:r-t</i>	(2.3,4)	—>	<i>ni:t</i>	‘to stretchout’
<i>mo:r-t</i>	(2.3,4)	—>	<i>mo:t</i>	‘to change (way)’
<i>tō:r-t</i>	(2.3,4)	—>	<i>tō:t</i>	‘to make improve (in health)’
<i>ōḡ-t</i>	(2.12)	—>	<i>ōrt</i>	‘to arouse’
<i>kaḡ-t</i>	(2.12)	—>	<i>kart</i>	‘to take cross’
<i>naṛ-t</i>		—>		‘to make to walk’
<i>sō:r-t</i>	(2.13)	—>	<i>sō:t</i>	‘to make to reach’
<i>u:l-t</i>	(2.1,2)	—>	<i>u:t</i>	‘to roll’
<i>tu:l-t</i>	(2.1,2)	—>	<i>tu:t</i>	‘to rollup’
<i>pī:l-t</i>	(2.1,2)	—>	<i>pī:t</i>	‘to make tumble over’
<i>pu:l-t</i>	(2.1,2)	—>	<i>pu:t</i>	‘to tie around some else’s neck’
<i>kiskwīl-t</i>	(2.1,2)	—>	<i>kiskwīt</i>	‘to tickle’
<i>nī:l-t</i>	(2.1,2)	—>	<i>nī:t</i>	‘to stretchout’
<i>pe:l-t</i>	(2.1,2)	—>	<i>pe:t</i>	‘to frighten away (buffalo)’
<i>ko:n-t</i>	(2.1,2)	—>	<i>ko:t</i>	‘to show’
<i>no:l-t</i>	(2.3,4)	—>	<i>no:t</i>	‘to make to become wet’

4.1.1.3. ∞ -f- occurs elsewhere

Ex. *ōḡ-f* (2.12) —> *ōrf* ‘to arouse from sleep’

<i>kwal-f</i>	'to make to be emaciated'
<i>ar-f</i>	'to shut'
<i>twad-f</i>	'be polluted'
<i>war-f</i>	'to break'
<i>tar-f</i>	'to prevent'
<i>nen-f</i>	'to make to think'
<i>pax-f</i>	'be divided'
<i>kwar-f</i>	'to cut'
<i>peɕ-f</i>	'to grow'
<i>kar-f</i>	'to tighten'
<i>ner-f</i>	'to fill'

4.1.2. Causative

S_1-

{ -eɪ }

~ -eɪ¹

4.1.2.1. ~ -eɪ

Ex. <i>tin-eɪ</i>	'to cause to eat'
<i>mar-eɪ</i>	'to cause to forget'
<i>uŋ-eɪ</i>	'to cause to drink'
<i>ɪr-eɪ</i>	'to cause to sit'
<i>nar-eɪ</i>	'to cause to walk'

-
1. Prof. M. B. Emeneau connects this to Tamil-Malayalam *erru* 'to strike, throw (as with a sling)'. This might originally be a periphrastic construction involving the infinite form of a verb plus *erru*.

<i>kaṣ-eṭ</i>	'to cause to learn'
<i>ōṣṭ-eṭ</i>	'to cause to say'
<i>kīy-eṭ</i>	'to cause to do'
<i>nīl-eṭ</i>	'to cause to stand'

4.2. Verbal derivative¹

Verbal derivative is not productive in Toda. There are many verbal derivative suffixes like *-p -f -il -t* etc. which occur after verbal stems. The number of verbal stems to which each of these derivative suffixes added is limited.

St.

4.2.1. *The deed*

{ *-p* }

∞-ky ∞-oy ∞-y ∞-f ∞-m ∞-p

4.2.1.1. *∞-ky* occurs after the verbs *nob-*, *oj-*, and *ko:ṇ-*

Ex. <i>nob-ky</i>	'belief'
<i>oj-ky</i>	'fear'
<i>ko:ṇ-ky</i>	'offering to Hindu temple'

¹ Verbal derivative is a non-productive morpheme and so the allomorphs of the various verbal derivative suffixes are morphologically conditioned.

See: Dr. S. Agesthalingom, *Description of the language of Patiruppattu*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Kerala Univ., 1961.

See also: Dr. S. V. Shanmugam, *The Language of Tamil Inscriptions (1350 to 1700 A.D.)*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Annamalai Univ., 1968.

4.2.1.2. ∞ -f occurs after the verb $a\check{t}$ -

Ex. $a\check{t}$ -f 'measurement'

4.2.1.3. ∞ -ey occurs after the verb mar -

Ex. mar -ey 'forgetfulness'

4.2.1.4. ∞ -y occurs after the verbs $po:t$ - and pax -

Ex. $po:t$ -y 'bed'

pax -y 'division'

4.2.1.5. ∞ -m occurs after the verbs $\check{o}\eta$ -, $-ku:t$ and $w\check{i}:q$ -

Ex. $\check{o}\eta$ -m 'counting'

$ku:t$ -m 'meeting of assembly'

$w\check{i}:q$ -m 'running'

4.2.1.6. ∞ -p occurs after the verbs uny -, nen -, and $mony$ -

Ex. uny -p 'a thought'

nen -p "

$mony$ -p 'forgiveness'

4.2.2. Resultive nominals

{ -f }

∞ -f, ∞ -mo: η m, ∞ -x \check{i} n ∞ -n ∞ -p

4.2.2.1. ∞ -f occurs after the verbs $ke:\check{t}$ and ner -

Ex. $ke:\check{t}$ -f 'news, word'

ner -f 'full moon'

4.2.2.2. ∞ -p occurs after the verb nar -

Ex. nar -p 'character'

4.2.2.3. $\infty - mo:nm$ occurs after the verb *ti:r-*

Ex. *ti:r-mo:nm* 'decision'

4.2.2.4. $\infty - x\bar{i}n$ occurs after the verb *toḷ-*

Ex. *toḷ-xīn* 'goldsmith'

4.2.2.5. ∞n occurs after the verb *koḷ-*

Ex. *koḷ-n* (2.17) \rightarrow *koḷṇ* 'thief'

4.2.3. *Action nominals*

$\{ -\bar{i}l \}$

$\sim -\bar{i}l$

4.2.3.1. $\sim \bar{i}l$ occurs after the verbs *pīk-* *kasp-* *ko:f-* *ku:s-* and *kwīj-*

Ex. <i>pīk-īl</i>	'cough'
<i>kasp-īl</i>	'transgression of dairy rules'
<i>ko:f-īl</i>	'act of watching'
<i>ku:s-īl</i>	'a heap'
<i>kwīj-īl</i>	'ridicule'

4.2.4. *Resultant-object nominals*

$\{ -t \}$

$\infty -t$, $\infty -fu$, $\infty -\bar{i}t̃e:r$, $\infty f̃y$, $\infty \bar{y}$, $\infty xu\bar{y}$

4.2.4.1. $\infty -fu$ occurs after this *ar̥y-*

Ex. *ar̥y-fu* \rightarrow *ar̥yfu* 'knowledge'

4.2.4.2. ∞ -*ĩte:r* occurs after the verb *pi:k-*

Ex. *pi:k-ĩte:r* . . . 'a lie'

4.2.4.3. ∞ -*fy* occurs after the verb *kaē*

Ex. *kaē-fy* (2.9) \rightarrow *kalfy* 'education'

4.2.4.4. ∞ -*xuēy* occurs after the verb *oj-*

Ex. *oj-xuēy* . . . 'coward'

4.2.4.5. ∞ -*θ* occurs after the verb *pu:t*

Ex. *pu:t-θ* \rightarrow *pu:t* 'a lock'

4.2.4.6. ∞ -*t* occurs after the verbs *oty-*, *ĩt-*, *karc-*, *pe:s-*, *wĩ:ey-* and *neṣoty-*.

(*up*) *oty-t* (2.26) \rightarrow (*up*) *ott*
'act of pouring salt for the buffalo'

(*pĩs*) *ĩt-t* . . . 'bow giving ceremony during women's pregnancy'

(*pəp*) *karc-t* . . . 'act of purifying the coagulant'

(*poēy*) *pe:s-t* . . . 'act of thatching the dairy'

(*pok*) *wĩ:ey-t* (2.26) \rightarrow *pok wĩ:et*
'act of reading' (book)

(*maḍ*) *neṣoty-t* (2.26) \rightarrow (*maḍ*) *neṣott*
'act of salutation (head)'

4.2.5. *The instrument or consequence of action*

{ -*xu:* }

∞ -*xu:* ∞ -*xuēy*

4.2.5.1 ∞ -xu: occurs after the verb *müc-*

Ex. *müc-xu:* 'lid'

4.2.5.2. ∞ -xuɕy occurs after the verb *pu:t-*

Ex. *pu:t-xuɕy* 'cloak'

4.3. Verb classes

When we look into the conjugational system of Toda verbs, we come across two types of stems, which we call simple stem (labelled as) S_1 and secondary stem (labelled as) S_2 . Verbal base (S_1) is basis for all verb construction. In Toda, verbs have a secondary stem (S_2) which forms the basis for the past tense and of the present-future tense (as well as of some other formations). The secondary stem which corresponds to the past stem of the other South Dravidian languages is formed by adding one of the following suffixes to the verb base (1) -ə- (2) -t- (3) -d- and (4) -y-. Toda has in the S_2 stem the following classes¹. By adding these, certain changes take place. These changes are dealt in the morpho-phonemic section. (See Rules 2.20-2 40).

$$1) S_2 = S_1 + y$$

$$2) S_2 = S_1 + \emptyset$$

$$3) S_2 = S_1 + t$$

$$4) S_2 = S_1 + d$$

4.3.1. Tense suffixes

$$\{ S_2 - \}$$

1 M. B. Emeneau, 'The South Dravidian Languages,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 87, p. 365-412, 1967.

4.3.1.1. *Non-past (Present-Future)*

$$\{ -p- \}$$

$$\infty -\emptyset- \quad \infty -t- \quad \infty -p-$$

4.3.1.1.1. $\infty -\emptyset-$ occurs after the secondary stem S_2 and before personal termination in declaratives.

Ex. <i>pod-\emptyset-pin-i</i>	\rightarrow <i>podpini</i>	'come-I'
<i>pod-\emptyset-pim-i</i>	\rightarrow <i>podpimi</i>	'come-we (excl.)'
<i>pod-\emptyset-pum-i</i>	\rightarrow <i>podpumi</i>	'come-we (incl.)'
<i>pod-\emptyset-p-i</i>	\rightarrow <i>podpi</i>	'come-you'
<i>pod-\emptyset-tš-i</i>	\rightarrow <i>podtši</i>	'come-you (pl.)'
<i>pod-\emptyset-t-i</i>	\rightarrow <i>podti</i>	'comes-he/she/it'
<i>pod-\emptyset-t-i</i>	\rightarrow <i>podti</i>	'come-they'
<i>pi:-\emptyset-pin-i</i>	\rightarrow <i>pi:pini</i>	'go-I'
<i>pi:-\emptyset-pim-i</i>	\rightarrow <i>pi:pimi</i>	'go-we (excl.)'
<i>pi:-\emptyset-pum-i</i>	\rightarrow <i>pi:pumi</i>	'go-we (incl.)'
<i>pi:-\emptyset-p-i</i>	\rightarrow <i>pi:pi</i>	'go-you'
<i>pi:-\emptyset-tš-i</i>	\rightarrow <i>pi:tši</i>	'go-you (pl.)'
<i>pi:-\emptyset-t-i</i>	\rightarrow <i>pi:ti</i>	'goes-he/she/it'
<i>pi:-\emptyset-t-i</i>	\rightarrow <i>pi:ti</i>	'go-they'
<i>tīd-\emptyset-pin-i</i>	\rightarrow <i>tīdpini</i>	'eat-I'
<i>tīd-\emptyset-pim-i</i>	\rightarrow <i>tīdpimi</i>	'eat-we (excl.)'
<i>tīd-\emptyset-pum-i</i>	\rightarrow <i>tīdpumi</i>	'eat-we (incl.)'
<i>tīd-\emptyset-p-i</i>	\rightarrow <i>tīdpi</i>	'eat-you'
<i>tīd-\emptyset-tš-i</i>	\rightarrow <i>tīdtši</i>	'eat-you (pl.)'
<i>tīd-\emptyset-t-i</i>	\rightarrow <i>tīdti</i>	'eats-he/she/it'

<i>tīd-Ø-t-i</i>	—>	<i>tīd̥ti</i>	‘eat-they’
<i>pī̥t-Ø-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>pī̥t̥pini</i>	‘carry-I’
<i>pī̥t-Ø-pim-i</i>	—>	<i>pī̥t̥pimi</i>	‘carry-we (excl.)’
<i>pī̥t-Ø-pum-i</i>	—>	<i>pī̥t̥pumi</i>	‘carry-we (incl.)’
<i>pī̥t-Ø-p-i</i>	—>	<i>pī̥t̥pi</i>	‘carry-you’
<i>pī̥t-Ø-tš-i</i>	—>	<i>pī̥t̥tši</i>	‘carry-you (pl.)’
<i>pī̥t-Ø-t-i</i>	—>	<i>pī̥t̥ti</i>	‘carries-he/she/it’
<i>pī̥t-Ø-t-i</i>	—>	<i>pī̥t̥ti</i>	‘carry-they’
<i>uḍ-Ø-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>uḍpini</i>	‘drink-I’
<i>uḍ-Ø-pim-i</i>	—>	<i>uḍpimi</i>	‘drink-we (incl.)’
<i>uḍ-Ø-pum-i</i>	—>	<i>uḍpumi</i>	‘drink-we (excl.)’
<i>uḍ-Ø-p-i</i>	—>	<i>uḍpi</i>	‘drink-you’
<i>uḍ-Ø-tš-i</i>	—>	<i>uḍtši</i>	‘drink-you (pl.)’
<i>uḍ-Ø-t-i</i>	—>	<i>uḍti</i>	‘drinks-he/she/it’
<i>uḍ-Ø-t-i</i>	—>	<i>uḍti</i>	‘drink-they’
<i>kaṛə-Ø-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>kaṛəpini</i>	‘milk-I’
<i>kaṛə-Ø-pim-i</i>	—>	<i>kaṛəpimi</i>	‘milk-we (excl.)’
<i>kaṛə-Ø-pum-i</i>	—>	<i>kaṛəpumi</i>	‘milk-we (incl.)’
<i>kaṛə-Ø-p-i</i>	—>	<i>kaṛəpi</i>	‘milk-you’
<i>kaṛə-Ø-tš-i</i>	—>	<i>kaṛətši</i>	‘milk-you (pl.)’
<i>kaṛə-Ø-t-i</i>	—>	<i>kaṛəti</i>	‘milks-he’
<i>kaṛə-Ø-t-i</i>	—>	<i>kaṛəti</i>	‘milk-they’

S₁— (caus.)

<i>tīn-e̥t-Ø-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>tīne̥tpini</i>	‘to cause to eat-I’
<i>tīn-e̥t-Ø-pim-i</i>	—>	<i>tīne̥tpimi</i>	‘to cause to eat-we (excl.)’

<i>tīn-eḷ-ḡ-pum-i</i>	—>	<i>tīneḷpumi</i>	‘to cause to eat-we (incl.)’
<i>tīn-eḷ-ḡ-p-i</i>	—>	<i>tīneḷpi</i>	‘to cause to eat-you’
<i>tīn-eḷ-ḡ-tš-i</i>	—>	<i>tīneḷtši</i>	‘to cause to eat-you (pl.)’
<i>tīn-eḷ-ḡ-t-i</i>	—>	<i>tīneḷti</i>	‘to cause to eat-he/she’
<i>tīn-eḷ-ḡ-t-i</i>	—>	<i>tīneḷti</i>	‘to cause to eat-they’
<i>naṛ-eḷ-ḡ-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>naṛeḷpini</i>	‘to cause to walk-I’
<i>naṛ-eḷ-ḡ-pim-i</i>	—>	<i>naṛeḷpimi</i>	‘to cause to walk-we (excl.)’
<i>naṛ-eḷ-ḡ-pum-i</i>	—>	<i>naṛeḷpumi</i>	‘to cause to walk-we (incl.)’
<i>naṛ-eḷ-ḡ-p-i</i>	—>	<i>naṛeḷpi</i>	‘to cause to walk-you’
<i>naṛ-eḷ-ḡ-tš-i</i>	—>	<i>naṛeḷtši</i>	‘to cause to walk-you (pl.)’
<i>naṛ-eḷ-ḡ-t-i</i>	—>	<i>naṛeḷti</i>	‘to cause to walk-he/she’
<i>naṛ-eḷ-ḡ-t-i</i>	—>	<i>naṛeḷti</i>	‘to cause to walk-they’

4.3.1.1.2. ∞ -p occurs after secondary stem (S_2) and before o:ḡ in participial noun.

Ex. <i>pod-p-o:ḡ</i>	—>	<i>podpo:ḡ</i>	‘person who comes’
<i>kīs-p-o:ḡ</i>	—>	<i>kīs-p-o:ḡ</i>	‘person who does’
<i>pi:-p-o:ḡ</i>	—>	<i>pi:po:ḡ</i>	‘person who goes’
<i>uḡ-p-o:ḡ</i>	—>	<i>uḡpo:ḡ</i>	‘person who drinks’
<i>ōštiv-p-o:ḡ</i>	—>	<i>ōštypo:ḡ</i>	‘person who says’

<i>tīd-p-o:ɕ</i>	—>	<i>tīdpo:ɕ</i>	‘person who eats’
<i>kaɾə-p-o:ɕ</i>	—>	<i>kaɾepo:ɕ</i>	‘person who milks’

4.3.1.1.3. ∞ -t- occurs after secondary stem S_2 and before relative participle suffix - \emptyset in relative participle₁.

Ex. <i>kaɿ-t-\emptyset</i>	—>	<i>kaɿt</i>	‘that studying’
<i>pod-t-\emptyset</i>	—>	<i>podt</i>	‘that coming’
<i>kīs-t-\emptyset</i>	—>	<i>kīst</i>	‘that doing’
<i>pūṣoḍə-t-\emptyset</i>	—>	<i>pūṣoḍet</i>	‘that calling’
<i>nīd-t-\emptyset</i>	—>	<i>nīdt</i>	‘that standing’

4.3.1 2. *Past tense*

In Toda language the past tense and the present-future (as well as some other formations) are formed on a special stem that may be called the ‘secondary stem’ (S_2 of Emeneau). This secondary stem historically corresponds to the past stem of Tamil–Malayalam and some other languages. The secondary stem is formed by adding one of the following suffixes to the verb base 1. \emptyset 2. *t* 3. *d* and 4. *y*. ‘In South Dravidian Toda is the only language which retains in full working order as part of the past tense formation the sibilant suffix that must be reconstructed as part of past tense apparatus for Proto-Dravidian’¹.

It has several sibilant allomorphs *s* *z*, *ʒ* *ɹ*, *ʃ* *ʒ*, *ʂ* *ʒ* and \emptyset *s* has been taken as base and all other sibilants have been explained as phonologically conditioned alternants. For details see the sandhi rules S.2.41–2.49.

1. Emeneau, M.B. ‘Toda, A Dravidian language’ *Transactions of the Philological Society* p. 46, 1957.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} S_2- \\ S_1-(\text{Tr.}) \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\left\{ -s- \right\}$$

$$\sim -s- \infty -\emptyset-$$

4.3.1.2.1. $\infty -\emptyset-$ occurs after the secondary stem (S_2) and before relative participle suffix *-foy*.

Ex. <i>kaʃ-∅-foy</i>	—> <i>kaʃfoy</i>	‘studied’
<i>pod-∅-foy</i>	—> <i>podfoy</i>	‘came’
<i>naʃe-∅-foy</i>	—> <i>naʃefoy</i>	‘walked’
<i>kɪs-∅-foy</i>	—> <i>kɪsfoy</i>	‘did’
<i>kaʃe-∅-foy</i>	—> <i>kaʃefoy</i>	‘milked’

4.3.1.2.2. $\sim -s-$ occurs elsewhere.

Ex. <i>nene-s-pin-i</i> (2.41)	
—> <i>nenspini</i>	‘thought-I’
<i>püşoðe-s-pin-i</i> (2.41)	
—> <i>püşoðspini</i>	‘called-I’
<i>paʃe-s-pin-i</i> (2.41)	
—> <i>paʃspini</i>	‘wrote-I’
<i>kaʃe-s-pin-i</i> (2.41)	
—> <i>kaʃspini</i>	‘milked-I’
<i>aʃt-s-pin-i</i> (2.41)	
—> <i>aʃspini</i>	‘cut-I’
<i>monc-s-pin-i</i> (2.41)	
—> <i>monspini</i>	‘forgave-I’

<i>umc-s-pin-i</i>	(2.41)	
—>	<i>unspini</i>	‘thought-I’
<i>ars-s-pin-i</i>	(2.18)	
—>	<i>arspini</i>	‘knew-I’
<i>pe:s-s-pin-i</i>	(2.18)	
—>	<i>pe:spini</i>	‘thatched-I’
<i>pīrs-s-pin-i</i>	(2.18)	
—>	<i>pīrspini</i>	‘demolised-I’
<i>mürs-s-pin-i</i>	(2.18)	
—>	<i>mürspini</i>	‘broke-I’
<i>kīs- -pin-i</i>	(2.18)	
—>	<i>kīspini</i>	‘did-I’
<i>pod-s-pin-i</i>	(2.42,49)	
—>	<i>pozpini</i>	‘came-I’
<i>tod-s-pin-i</i>	(2.42,49)	
—>	<i>tozpini</i>	‘gave-I’
<i>sō:d-s-pin-i</i>	(2.42,49)	
—>	<i>sō:zpini</i>	‘arrived-I’
<i>u:d-s-pin-i</i>	(2.42,49)	
—>	<i>u:zpini</i>	‘disappeared-I’
<i>kaṭ-s-pin-i</i>	(2.43,49)	
—>	<i>kaṣpini</i>	‘learnt-I’
<i>mū:neṭ-s-pin-i</i>	(2.43,49)	
—>	<i>mu:neṣpini</i>	‘liked-I’
<i>twī:ṭy-s-pin-i</i>	(2.43,49)	
—>	<i>twī:ṣpini</i>	‘defeated-I’
<i>wī:ṭy-s-pin-i</i>	(2.26,43,49)	
—>	<i>wī:ṣpini</i>	‘drove calf from udder-I’

- tō:ty-s-pin-i* (2.26,43,49)
 —> *tō:špini* ‘made to improve (in health)-I’
- kwad-s-pin-i* (2.44,49)
 —> *kwazpini* ‘ran in circle-I’
- ka:d-s-pin-i* (2.44,49)
 —> *ka:zpini* ‘fell from the tree-I’
- te:d-s-pin-i* (2.44,49)
 —> *te:zpini* ‘did (work) - I’
- nīd-s-pin-i* (2.44,49)
 —> *nīzpini* ‘stood-I’
- īd-s-pin-i* (2.44,49)
 —> *īzpini* ‘said-I’
- ko:d-s-pin-i* (2.44,49)
 —> *ko:zpini* ‘vomitted-I’
- e:mo:ty-s-pin-i* (2.26,45,49)
 —> *e:mo:špini* ‘deceived-I’
- pīty-s-pin-i* (2.26,45,49)
 —> *pīšpini* ‘sowed (seed)-I’
- pinty-s-pin-i* (2.26,45,49)
 —> *pīnšpini* ‘asked-I’
- ki:č-s-pin-i* (2.45,49)
 —> *ki:špini* ‘combed-I’
- ko:č-s-pin-i* (2.45,49)
 —> *ko:špini* ‘boiled-I’
- ūrpy-s-pin-i* (2.26,45)
 —> *ūrpspini* ‘played (puxury)-I’
- ašpy-s-pin-i* (2.26,45)
 —> *ašpspini* ‘cleaned-I’

<i>noby-s-pin-i</i> (2.26,45)	—> <i>nobšpini</i>	‘believed-I’
<i>tīrby-s-pin-i</i> (2.26,45)	—> <i>tīrbšpini</i>	‘twisted-I’
<i>kufy-s-pin-i</i> (2.26,45)	—> <i>kufšpini</i>	‘pounded (clothes in washing)-I’
<i>upy-s-pin-i</i> (2.26,45)	—> <i>upšpini</i>	‘agreed-I’
<i>kīdy-s-pin-i</i> (2.26,46,49)	—> <i>kīžpini</i>	‘sprinkled-I’
<i>tīdy-s-pin-i</i> (2.26,46,49)	—> <i>tīžpini</i>	‘made straight (crookedness)-I’
<i>udy-s-pin-i</i> (2.26,46,49)	—> <i>užpini</i>	‘smeared-I’
<i>kwīj-s-pin-i</i> (2.46,49)	—> <i>kwīžpini</i>	‘ridiculed-I’
<i>ni:ž-s-pin-i</i> (2.46,49)	—> <i>ni:žpini</i>	‘swam-I’
<i>pu:ž-s-pin-i</i> (2.46,49)	—> <i>pū:žpini</i>	‘worshipped-I’
<i>pīdž-s-pin-i</i> (2.46,49)	—> <i>pīdžpini</i>	‘released-I’
<i>oṭ-s-pin-i</i> (2.47,49)	—> <i>ošpini</i>	‘cooked-I’
<i>pīt-s-pin-i</i> (2.47,49)	—> <i>pīšpini</i>	‘left-I’

<i>poṭ-s-pin-i</i>	(2.47,49)	
	—>	<i>poṣpini</i> ‘laid down-I’
<i>a:foṭ-s-pin-i</i>	(2.47,49)	
	—>	<i>a:foṣpini</i> ‘talked-I’
<i>tōḍxōṭ-s-pin-i</i>	(2.47,49)	
	—>	<i>tōḍxōṣpini</i> ‘tired-I’
<i>īṭ-s-pin-i</i>	(2.47,49)	
	—>	<i>īṣpini</i> ‘put-I’
<i>wī:rīṭ-s-pin-i</i>	(2.47,49)	
	—>	<i>wī:rīṣpini</i> ‘listerned-I’
<i>kiskwīṭy-s-pin-i</i>	(2.26,47,49)	
	—>	<i>kiswīṣpini</i> ‘tickled-I’
<i>nwī:ṭy-s-pin-i</i>	(2.26,47,49)	
	—>	<i>nwī:ṣpini</i> ‘looked-I’
<i>oṭy-s-pin-i</i>	(2.26,47,49)	
	—>	<i>oṣpini</i> ‘poured-I’
<i>koṭy-s-pin-i</i>	(2.26,47,49)	
	—>	<i>koṣpini</i> ‘built (house)-I’
<i>mu:ku:ṭy-s-pin-i</i>	(2.26,47,49)	
	—>	<i>mu:ku:ṣpini</i> ‘met-I’
<i>puk-s-pin-i</i>	(2.47)	
	—>	<i>pukṣpini</i> ‘entered-I’
<i>ōēky-s-pin-i</i>	(2.26,47)	
	—>	<i>ōēkṣpini</i> ‘jumped-I’
<i>kalky-s-pin-i</i>	(2.26,47)	
	—>	<i>kalkṣpini</i> ‘stirred up-I’
<i>moṛky-s-pin-i</i>	(2.26,47)	
	—>	<i>moṛkṣpini</i> ‘folded-I’

<i>pušky-s-pin-i</i> (2.26,47)	
—>	<i>puškypini</i> ‘boiled (potato)-I’
<i>nī:q-s-pin-i</i> (2.48,49)	
—>	<i>nī:zpini</i> ‘peeped over I’
<i>kwīq-s-pin-i</i> (2.48,49)	
—>	<i>kwīzpini</i> ‘carried (corpse)-I’
<i>kīskwīq-s-pin-i</i> (2.48,49)	
—>	<i>kīskwīzpini</i> ‘tickled-I’
<i>teškwīq-s-pin-i</i> (2.48,49)	
—>	<i>teškwīzpini</i> ‘hugged-I’
<i>pī:q-s-pin-i</i> (2.48,49)	
—>	<i>pī:zpini</i> ‘tumbledover-I’
<i>oq-s-pin-i</i> (2.48,49)	
—>	<i>o:zpini</i> ‘ruled-I’
<i>nō:q-s-pin-i</i> (2.48,49)	
—>	<i>nō:zpini</i> ‘made robe of bark-I’
<i>pu:q-s-pin-i</i> (2.48,49)	
—>	<i>pu:zpini</i> ‘wore around neck-I’
<i>koq-s-pin-i</i> (2.48,49)	
—>	<i>kozpini</i> ‘looked-I’
<i>uq-s-pin-i</i> (2.48,49)	
—>	<i>uzpini</i> ‘drank-I’
<i>o:dy-s-pin-i</i> (2.26,48,49)	
—>	<i>o:zpini</i> ‘danced-I’

4.4. Prohibitive

Singular and plural

S₂—

{ o- }

~ -o-

4.4.1. ~ -o-

Ex. <i>pod-o-t-i</i>	—> <i>podoti</i>	'Do not come-you (sg.)'
<i>pi:-o-t-i</i>	—> <i>pi:oti</i>	'Do not go-you (sg.)'
<i>naʔe-o-t-i</i>	—> <i>naʔeoti</i>	'Do not walk-you (sg.)'
<i>tīd-o-t-i</i>	—> <i>tīdoti</i>	'Do not eat-you (sg.)'
<i>ōšty-o-t-i</i> (2.26)	—> <i>ōštoṭi</i>	'Do not say-you (sg.)'
<i>ko:t-o-t-i</i>	—> <i>koṭoti</i>	'Do not show-you (sg.)'
<i>nwī:ty-o-t-i</i> (2.26)	—> <i>nwī:ṭoti</i>	'Do not see-you (sg.)'
<i>kwī:ʔt-o-t-i</i>	—> <i>kwīʔtoṭi</i>	'Do not give-you (sg.)'
<i>wī:d-o-t-i</i>	—> <i>wī:doti</i>	'Do not run-you (sg.)'
<i>pod-o-s-i</i>	—> <i>podosi</i>	'Do not come-you (pl.)'
<i>tīd-o-s-i</i>	—> <i>tīdosi</i>	'Do not eat-you (pl.)'
<i>pi:-o-s-i</i>	—> <i>pi:osi</i>	'Do not go-you (pl.)'
<i>ko:t-o-s-i</i>	—> <i>ko:ṭosi</i>	'Do not show-you (pl.)'
<i>nīd-o-s-i</i>	—> <i>nīdosi</i>	'Do not stand-you (pl.)'
<i>poʔ-o-s-i</i>	—> <i>poṭosi</i>	'Do not lie down-you (pl.)'
<i>uḍ-o-s-i</i>	—> <i>uḍosi</i>	'Do not drink-you (pl.)'
<i>nwī:ty-o-s-i</i> (2.26)	—> <i>nwī:ṭosi</i>	'Do not look (pl.)'

4.5. Negative

There are two types of negative in Toda language. Neg₁ denotes generally past negative; Neg₂ denotes the

present-future₂ negative. Neg₂ is discussed under 4.17 because it differs from Neg₁ in structure (position class).

4.5.1. Negative₁

$$S_1 - \text{Neg} - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Rel. part.} \\ \text{Verbal part.} \\ \text{Personal sfx.} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\left\{ -o- \right\}$$

$$\infty -o-$$

4.5.1.1. $\infty -o-$ occurs after the verbal base (S_1) and before relative participle suffix *-foy*, verbal participle *-ə* and personal suffixes.

Ex. <i>nwl:t-o-foy</i>	'not seeing'
<i>pint-o-foy</i>	'not asking'
<i>kīy-o-foy</i>	'not doing'
<i>a:foɾ-o-foy</i>	'not talking'
<i>par-o-foy</i>	'not writing'
<i>uŋ-o-foy</i>	'not drinking'
<i>kaɬ-o-foy</i>	'not studying'
<i>po:r-o-foy</i>	'not coming'
<i>pī:x-o-foy</i>	'not going'
<i>ko:ŋ-o-foy</i>	'not looking'
<i>öšt-o-foy</i>	'not telling'
<i>tīn-o-foy</i>	'not eating'
<i>kaɾ-o-foy</i>	'not milking'

<i>naɾ-o-foy</i>	‘not walking’
<i>kaɾ-o-foy</i>	‘not churning’
<i>kīy-o-ø</i>	‘without doing’
<i>pint-o-ø</i>	‘without asking’
<i>pī:x-o-ø</i>	‘without going’
<i>po:r-o-ø</i>	‘without coming’
<i>uŋ-o-ø</i>	‘without drinking’
<i>ōšt-o-ø</i>	‘without telling’
<i>kaɾ-o-ø</i>	‘without milking’
<i>paɾ-o-ø</i>	‘without writing’
<i>a:foɾ-o-ø</i>	‘without talking’
<i>kaɛ-o-ø</i>	‘without learning’
<i>kīyofoy kelc</i>	‘work which is not done’
<i>kaɾofoy īr</i>	‘buffalo which is not milked’
<i>kaɾofoy moj</i>	‘buttermilk which is not churned’
<i>īnofoy twī:ɾ</i>	‘food which is not eaten’
<i>pu:fofoy pu:txuɕy</i>	‘cloak which is not worn’
<i>po:y ilø</i>	‘without having mouth’
<i>mīɕ ilø</i>	‘without having breast’
<i>īr ilø</i>	‘without having buffalo’
<i>po:r-o-en-i</i> (2.53) —> <i>po:reni</i>	‘I did not come’
<i>po:r-o-īy-i</i> (2.53) —> <i>po:rīyi</i>	‘he/they did not come’

- wī:ḍ-o en-i* (2.53) —> *wī:ḍeni*
 'I did not run'
- wī:ḍ-o-im-i* (2.53) —> *wī:ḍimi*
 'we (excl.) did not run'
- wī:ḍ-o-um-i* (2.53) —> *wī:ḍumi*
 'we (incl.) did not run'
- wī:ḍ-o-īy-i* (2.53) —> *wī:ḍīyi*
 'They did not run'
- nīl-o-en-i* (2.53) —> *nīleni*
 'I did not stand'
- nīl-o-im-i* (2.53) —> *nīlimi*
 'we (excl.) did not stand'
- nīl-o-um-i* (2.53) —> *nīlumi*
 'we (incl.) did not stand'
- nīl-o-š-i* (2.53) —> *nīlši*
 'you (pl.) did not stand'
- kīy-o-en-i* (2.53) —> *kīyeni*
 'I did not do (work)'
- kīy-o-im-i* (2.53) —> *kīyimi*
 'we (excl.) did not do'
- kīy-o-um-i* (2.53) —> *kīyumi*
 'we (incl.) did not do'
- kīy-o-š-i* (2.53) —> *kīyši*
 'you (pl.) did not do'
- po:r-o-p-i* —> *po:ropi* 'you did not come (sg.)'
- po:r-o-ī-i* —> *po:roti* 'he/she did not come'
- wī:ḍ-o-p-i* —> *wī:ḍopi* 'you did not run (sg.)'

4.7. Dubitative

S_1 — Dub -Pron. Sfx- Decl. Sfx.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -\check{s}- \\ \sim -\check{s}- \end{array} \right\}$$

4.7.1. $\sim -\check{s}-$ occurs after the verbal base (S_1)

Ex. <i>nīl-š-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>nīlšpini</i>	‘I may stand’
<i>kīy-š-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>kīyšpini</i>	‘I may do’
<i>tīn-š-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>tīnšpini</i>	‘I may eat’
<i>ūrṣ-š-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>ūrṣšpini</i>	‘I may play (puxury)’
<i>par-š-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>paršpini</i>	‘I may write’
<i>paš-š-pin-i</i> (2.18)	—>	<i>pašpini</i>	‘I may come’
<i>taš-š-pin-i</i> (2.18)	—>	<i>tašpini</i>	‘I may give’

4.8. Voluntative¹

$$S_1 -k- \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ sg.} \\ 1 \text{ pl.} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -k- \\ \sim -k- \end{array} \right\}$$

4.8.1. $\sim -k-$

Ex. <i>kīy-k-in</i>	—>	<i>kīykin</i>	‘I will do’
<i>uṇ-k-in</i>	—>	<i>uṇkin</i>	‘I will drink’
<i>nwī.t-k-in</i>	—>	<i>nwī.tkin</i>	‘I will see’
<i>ōšt-k-in</i>	—>	<i>ōštkin</i>	‘I will say’

¹ A future tense which is usually voluntative.

<i>paš-k-in</i>	—>	<i>paškin</i>	‘I will come’
<i>taš-k-in</i>	—>	<i>taškin</i>	‘I will give’
<i>nīl-k-in</i>	—>	<i>nīlkin</i>	‘I will stand’
<i>tīn-k-in</i>	—>	<i>tīnkin</i>	‘I will eat’
<i>kīy-k-im</i>	—>	<i>kīykim</i>	‘we (excl.) will do’
<i>tīn-k-im</i>	—>	<i>tīnkim</i>	‘we (excl.) will eat’
<i>uṇ-k-im</i>	—>	<i>uṇkim</i>	‘we (excl.) will drink’
<i>nwī:ṭ-k-im</i>	—>	<i>nwī:ṭkim</i>	‘we (excl.) will look’
<i>nīl-k-im</i>	—>	<i>nīlkin</i>	‘we (excl.) will stand’
<i>ōšt-k-um</i>	—>	<i>ōštikum</i>	‘we (incl.) will say’
<i>wī:ḍ-k-um</i>	—>	<i>wī:ḍikum</i>	‘we (incl.) will run’
<i>nīl-k-um</i>	—>	<i>nīlukum</i>	‘we (incl.) will stand’
<i>nwī:ṭ-k-um</i>	—>	<i>nwī:ṭikum</i>	‘we (incl.) will see’
<i>kīy-k-um</i>	—>	<i>kīyikum</i>	‘we (incl.) will do’

4.9. Hortative

S_1 —

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -mo: \\ \sim -mo: \end{array} \right\}$$

4.9.1. $\sim -mo$: occurs after the verbal base (S_1).

Ex. <i>ōšt-mo:</i>	‘let (someone) say’
<i>pint-mo:</i>	‘let (someone) ask’
<i>a:foṭ-mo:</i>	‘let (someone) talk’
<i>kīy-mo:</i>	‘let (someone) do’
<i>tīn-mo:</i>	‘let (someone) eat’
<i>uṇ-mo:</i>	‘let (someone) drink’

<i>nīl-mo:</i>	'let (someone) stand'
<i>o:ḍ-mo</i>	'let (someone) dance'
<i>nwī:t-mo:</i>	'let (someone) see'

4.10. Permissive¹S₁-

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -(k)u \\ \sim -(k)u \end{array} \right\}$$

4.10.1. $\sim -(k)u$ occurs after the verbal base (S₁).

Ex. <i>kīy-u</i>	
<i>kīy-ku</i>	'(one) may do'
<i>tīn-u</i>	
<i>tīn-ku</i>	'(one) may eat'
<i>wī:ḍ-u</i>	
<i>wī:ḍ-ku</i>	'(one) may run'
<i>par-u</i>	
<i>par-ku</i>	'(one) may write'
<i>a:foɾ-u</i>	
<i>a:foɾ-ku</i>	'(one) may talk'
<i>ḍṣt-u</i>	
<i>ḍṣt-ku</i>	'(one) may say'
<i>nwī:t-u</i>	
<i>nwī:t-ku</i>	'(one) may see'

1. In Kodagu language, permissive is formed by adding *-u* to the base: in certain places it is preceded by the formative suffix *-k*.

4.11. Imperative

4.11.1. Singular

S₁—4.11.1.1. S₁ stem itself functions as the imperative.

Ex. <i>kīy</i>	‘do’
<i>nīl</i>	‘stand’
<i>ke:ʔ</i>	‘hear’
<i>ōšt</i>	‘tell’
<i>wī:d</i>	‘run’
<i>uŋ</i>	‘drink’
<i>iīn</i>	‘eat’

4.11.2. Plural

S₁—
$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -s \\ \sim -s \end{array} \right\}$$
4.11.2.1. $\sim -s$ occurs after the verbal base (S₁).

Ex. <i>nīl-s</i>		‘stand’
<i>iīn-s</i>		‘eat’
<i>ōšt-s</i>		‘tell’
<i>kīy-s</i>	(2.14) —>	<i>kīyš</i> ‘do’
<i>uŋ-s</i>	(2.15) —>	<i>uŋs</i> ‘drink’
<i>wī:d-s</i>	(2.15) —>	<i>wī:dš</i> ‘run’
<i>naʔ-s</i>	(2.15) —>	<i>naʔs</i> ‘walk’

4.12. Relative participle

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} S_2 - \text{Tense} \\ S_1 - \text{Neg.} \end{array} \right\} -$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -\text{foy} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\infty -\emptyset \infty -\text{foy}$$

4.12.1. $\infty -\emptyset$ occurs after tense suffix $-t$. S_2 — Tense—

Ex. <i>kaḷ-t-∅</i>	—> <i>kaḷt</i>	‘that is studying’
<i>pod-t-∅</i>	—> <i>podt</i>	‘that is coming’
<i>kīś-t-∅</i>	—> <i>kīśt</i>	‘that is doing’
<i>uḍ-t-∅</i>	—> <i>uḍt</i>	‘that is drinking’
<i>pī-t-∅</i>	—> <i>pīt</i>	‘that is going’
<i>tīḍ-t-∅</i>	—> <i>tīḍt</i>	‘that is eating’
<i>pūṣoḍo-t-∅</i>	—> <i>pūṣoḍot</i>	‘that is calling’
<i>mu:neḷ-t-∅</i>	—> <i>mu:neḷt</i>	‘that is liking’
<i>nīḍ-t-∅</i>	—> <i>nīḍt</i>	‘that is standing’
<i>podt mox</i>		‘boy who comes’
<i>pī:t pō:ṛmox</i>		‘Tamil boy who comes’
<i>īr paḷt o:ṛ</i>		‘person who catches buffalo’
<i>kaḷt mox</i>		‘boy who reads’
<i>parot ku:x</i>		‘girl who writes’

4.12.2. $\infty -\text{foy}$ occurs after tense suffix $-t$ and negative suffix $-o$. S_2 — Tense—

Ex. <i>kaḷ-(t-foy)</i>	—> <i>kaḷfoy</i>	‘studied’
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<i>kīs-θ-foy</i>	—> <i>kīsfoy</i>	‘done’
<i>naṛθ-θ-foy</i>	—> <i>naṛθfoy</i>	‘walked’
<i>pod-θ-foy</i>	—> <i>podfoy</i>	‘came’
<i>ōšty-θ-foy</i> (2.26)	—> <i>ōštfoy</i>	‘told’
<i>noky-θ-foy</i> (2.26)	—> <i>nokfoy</i>	‘licked’
<i>kaṛθ-θ-foy</i>	—> <i>kaṛθfoy</i>	‘milked’
<i>kaṛθ-θ-foy</i>	—> <i>kaṛθfoy</i>	‘churned’
<i>wī:ḍy-θ-foy</i> (2.26)	—> <i>wī:ḍfoy</i>	‘run’
<i>tīḍ-θ-foy</i>	—> <i>tīḍfoy</i>	‘ate’
<i>kaṛθ-θ-foy</i>	—> <i>kaṛθfoy</i>	‘send’

S₁— Neg—

Ex. <i>pī:x-o-foy</i>	—> <i>pī:xofoy</i>	‘not going’
<i>tīn-o-foy</i>	—> <i>tīnofoy</i>	‘not eating’
<i>nwī:t-o-foy</i>	—> <i>nwī:tofoy</i>	‘not seeing’
<i>uṇ-o-fov</i>	—> <i>uṇofoy</i>	‘not drinking’
<i>kaṛ-o-foy</i>	—> <i>kaṛofoy</i>	‘not studying’
<i>kaṛ-o-foy</i>	—> <i>kaṛofoy</i>	‘not milking’
<i>kīv-o-foy</i>	—> <i>kīyofoy</i>	‘not doing’
<i>po:r-o-foy</i>	—> <i>po:rofoy</i>	‘not coming’
<i>podfoy ma:f</i>		‘Badaga who came’
<i>kīsfoy kelc</i>		‘work which was done’
<i>kaṛθfoy īr</i>		‘buffalo which was milked’
<i>kīyofoy kelc</i>		‘work which was not done’
<i>pī:xofoy o:ṭ</i>		‘person who did not go’

po:rofoy ars 'English man who did not come'

(*poŋm*) *pīntofoy o:ŋ* 'person who did not ask (money)'

4.13. Verbal participle

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} S_2\text{-Past} \\ S_1\text{-Neg.} \end{array} \right\} -$

$\left\{ -\theta \right\}$

$\infty -\theta \infty -\emptyset$

4.13.1. $\infty -\theta$ occurs after negative suffix $-\emptyset$.

$S_1\text{-Neg}$

Ex. <i>kīy-o-θ</i>	—> <i>kīyoo</i>	'without doing'
<i>pint-o-θ</i>	—> <i>pintoo</i>	'without asking'
<i>kar-o-θ</i>	—> <i>karoo</i>	'without milking'
<i>tīn-o-θ</i>	—> <i>tīnoo</i>	'without eating'
<i>uŋ-o-θ</i>	—> <i>uŋoo</i>	'without drinking'
<i>ōšt-o-θ</i>	—> <i>ōštoo</i>	'without saying'
<i>nwī:t-o-θ</i>	—> <i>nwī:toe</i>	'without seeing'
<i>nīl-o-θ</i>	—> <i>nīloe</i>	'without standing'
<i>püşod-o-θ</i>	—> <i>püşodoé</i>	'without calling'
<i>pax-o-θ</i>	—> <i>paxoe</i>	'without dividing'
<i>kwīr-o-θ</i>	—> <i>kwīroe</i>	'without giving'

4.13.2. $\infty -\emptyset$ occurs elsewhere.

$S_2\text{-Past-}$

Ex. *pod-s-θ* (2.42,49) —> *poz* 'having come'

<i>kaɾə-s-Ø</i> (2.41)	—>	<i>kaɾs</i> ‘having milked’
<i>kaɾə-s-Ø</i> (2.41)	—>	<i>kaɾs</i> ‘having churned’
<i>koɖ-s-Ø</i> (2.48,49)	—>	<i>koʒ</i> ‘having seen’
<i>puk-s-Ø</i> (2.47)	—>	<i>pukʂ</i> ‘having entered’
<i>kwĩɾɪ-s-Ø</i> (2.41)	—>	<i>kwĩɾs</i> ‘having given’
<i>aɕə-s-Ø</i> (2.41)	—>	<i>aɕs</i> ‘having measured’
<i>tĩɖ-s-Ø</i> (2.44,49)	—>	<i>tĩʒ</i> ‘having eaten’
<i>uɖ-s-Ø</i> (2.48,49)	—>	<i>uʒ</i> ‘having drunk’
<i>toɖ-s-Ø</i> (2.42,49)	—>	<i>toʒ</i> ‘having given’
<i>nĩɖ-s-Ø</i> (2.44,49)	—>	<i>nĩʒ</i> ‘having stood’
<i>te:ɖ-s-Ø</i> (2.44,49)	—>	<i>te:ʒ</i> ‘having done’
<i>nĩ:ɖ-s-Ø</i> (2.48,49)	—>	<i>nĩ:ʒ</i> ‘having peeped’
<i>kĩɖy-s-Ø</i> (2.26,46,49)	—>	<i>kĩʒ</i> ‘having sprinkled’
<i>teɾə-s-Ø</i> (2.41)	—>	<i>teɾs</i> ‘having opened’

4.14. Participial noun

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} S_2 - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pres. tense} \\ \text{Past tense} \end{array} \right\} \\ S_1 - \text{Neg.} \end{array} \right\} -$$

$$\left\{ -\emptyset - \right\}$$

$$\infty - \emptyset - \quad \infty - \text{foy}$$

4.14.1. $\infty - \emptyset$ occurs after tense suffix $-p$ and before $\sigma:\xi$

Ex. <i>pod-p-Ø-σ:ξ</i>	—>	<i>podpo:ξ</i>	‘person who comes’
<i>kĩs-p-Ø-σ:ξ</i>	—>	<i>kĩspo:ξ</i>	‘person who does’
<i>pi:-p-Ø-σ:ξ</i>	—>	<i>pi:po:ξ</i>	‘person who goes’

<i>mo:ry-p-θ-o:ʔ</i>	—>	<i>mo:rypo:ʔ</i>	‘seller or person who sells’
<i>ud-p-θ-o:ʔ</i>	—>	<i>udpo:ʔ</i>	‘person who drinks’
<i>tīd-p-θ-o:ʔ</i>	—>	<i>tīdpo:ʔ</i>	‘person who eats’
<i>pa!y-p-θ-o:ʔ</i>	—>	<i>pa!ypo:ʔ</i>	‘person who catches (buffalo)’
<i>kaɾe-p-θ-o:ʔ</i>	—>	<i>kaɾepo:ʔ</i>	‘person who milks’
<i>kaɾe-p-θ-o:ʔ</i>	—>	<i>kaɾepo:ʔ</i>	‘person who churns’
<i>ōšty-p-θ-o:ʔ</i>	—>	<i>ōštypo:ʔ</i>	‘person who says’

4.14.2. *∞-foy* occurs after tense suffix *-θ*, negative *-o-* and before *-o:ʔ*.

Ex. <i>pod-θ-foy-o:ʔ</i>	—>	<i>podfoyo:ʔ</i>	‘person who came’
<i>kīs-θ-foy-o:ʔ</i>	—>	<i>kīsfoyo:ʔ</i>	‘person who did (work)’
<i>ōšty-θ-foy-o:ʔ</i> (2.26)	—>	<i>ōštifoyo:ʔ</i>	‘person who said’
<i>ud-θ-foy-o:ʔ</i>	—>	<i>udfoyo:ʔ</i>	‘person who drank’
<i>wī:dy-θ-foy-o:ʔ</i>	—>	<i>wī:dyfoyo:ʔ</i>	‘person who ran’
<i>a:fo!-θ-foy-o:ʔ</i>	—>	<i>a:fo!foyo:ʔ</i>	‘person who takled’
<i>e:mo:ty-θ-foy-o:ʔ</i> (2.26)	—>	<i>e:mo:tyfoyo:ʔ</i>	‘person who deceived’
<i>nađty-θ-foy-o:ʔ</i> (2.26)	—>	<i>nađtyfoyo:ʔ</i>	‘person who conducted’

<i>nwī:ɬ-o-foy-o:ɕ</i>	—> <i>nwī:ɬofoyo:ɕ</i> 'person who did not see'
<i>pī:x-o-foy-o:ɕ</i>	—> <i>pī:xofoyo:ɕ</i> 'person who did not go'
<i>uŋ-o-foy-o:ɕ</i>	—> <i>uŋofoyo:ɕ</i> 'person who did not drink'
<i>kīy-o-foy-o:ɕ</i>	—> <i>kīyofoyo:ɕ</i> 'person who did not do'
<i>kaɕ-o-foy-o:ɕ</i>	—> <i>kaɕofoyo:ɕ</i> 'person who did not read'

4.15. Temporal

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} S_2\text{-tense} \\ S_1\text{-Neg.} \end{array} \right\} -$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-fok} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\sim \text{-fok}$$

4.15.1. \sim -fok occurs after tense marker -ø and after negative suffix -o.

Ex. <i>pod-ø-fok</i>	—> <i>podfok</i>	'while coming'
<i>nwī:ɬy-ø-fok</i> (2.26)	—> <i>nwī:ɬfok</i>	'while seeing'
<i>wī:ɖy-ø-fok</i> (2.26)	—> <i>wī:ɖfok</i>	'while running'
<i>kīs-ø-fok</i>	—> <i>kīsfofok</i>	'while doing'
<i>pi:-ø-fok</i>	—> <i>pi:fok</i>	'while going'
<i>a:fot-ø-fok</i>	—> <i>a:fotfofok</i>	'while talking'
<i>kwīɾt-ø-fok</i>	—> <i>kwīɾtfok</i>	'while giving'
<i>pare-ø-fok</i>	—> <i>parefofok</i>	'while writing'

<i>kaɪ-θ-fok</i>	—>	<i>kaɪfok</i>	‘while learning’
<i>tīd-θ-fok</i>	—>	<i>tīdfok</i>	‘while eating’
<i>uɔ-θ-fok</i>	—>	<i>uɔfok</i>	‘while drinking’
<i>nīd-θ-fok</i>	—>	<i>nīdfok</i>	‘while standing’
<i>kīy-o-fok</i>	—>	<i>kīyofok</i>	‘while not doing’
<i>kaɾ-o-fok</i>	—>	<i>kaɾfok</i>	‘while not milking’
<i>tīn-o-fok</i>	—>	<i>tīnofok</i>	‘while not eating’
<i>uŋ-o-fok</i>	—>	<i>uŋofok</i>	‘while not drinking’
<i>pɪ:x-o-fok</i>	—>	<i>pɪ:xofok</i>	‘while not going’
<i>po:r-o-fok</i>	—>	<i>po:rofok</i>	‘while not coming’
<i>netyš ko:s itfok</i>			‘while keeping coins on forehead’
<i>pīšu:ɪfok</i>			‘while turning earth at funeral’
<i>ɪrpaɪfok</i>			‘while catching the buffalo’

4.16. Verbal noun

S₂— tense— aux—

{ -t }

~ -t

4.16.1. ~ -t occurs after auxiliary verb *-fīd*.

Ex. <i>pod-θ-fīd-t</i>	—>	<i>podfīdt</i>	‘the act of coming’
<i>pɪ:-θ-fīd-t</i>	—>	<i>pɪ:fīdt</i>	‘the act of going’
<i>ōšty-θ-fīd-t</i> (2.26)	—>	<i>ōštīfīdt</i>	‘the act of saying’
<i>kīs-θ-fīd-t</i>	—>	<i>kīsīfīdt</i>	‘the act of doing’
<i>nwī:ty-θ-fīd-t</i> (2.26)	—>	<i>nwī:ɪfīdt</i>	‘the act of seeing’
<i>uɔ-θ-fīd-t</i>	—>	<i>uɔfīdt</i>	‘the act of drinking’

pinty-Ø-fīd-t (2.26) → *pintfīdt*

‘the act of asking’

naṛe-Ø-fīd-t → *naṛefīdt* ‘the act of walking’

ay o:t̪ ɪ:nk podfīdt sariyil̪i

‘His coming here is not good’

ni: am modk p̪:fīdt wal̪i

‘your going to that mund is not good’

4.17. Negative₂

*Present-future negative*¹ & 2

S₂— aux—

{ -o- }

~ -o-

4.17.1. ~ -o-

Ex. *pod-kīṣ-o-en-i* (2.53) → *podkīṣeni*

‘I will not come’

pod-kīṣ-o-īy-i (2.53) → *podkīṣīyi*

‘He will not come’

1. In present-future negative finite verbs, *kīṣ* ‘be able’ (S₁) is added to S₂ forms of verb.

2. In Toda both ‘I will not come’, ‘I will not be able to come’ are expressed by one and the same form *podkīṣeni*.

In certain circumstances, *enna:l po:ka mutiya:tu* ‘I will not be able to go’ is also used just denote ‘I will not go’.

Professor. S. Agesthalingom has dealt with future in Tamil in his paper entitled “Modality in Tamil”,

—S. Agesthalingom, “Modality in Tamil”

Second All India Conference of Linguists, Delhi-1971

- pī-kīś-o-īy-i* (2.53) \rightarrow *pi:kīśīyi*
 'He will not go'
tīd-kīś-o-en-i (2.53) \rightarrow *tīdkīśeni*
 'I will not eat'
tīd-kīś-o-īy-i (2.53) \rightarrow *tīdkīśīyi*
 'He will not eat'
uḍ-kīś-o-en-i (2.53) \rightarrow *uḍkīśeni*
 'I will not drink'
uḍ-kīś-o-īy-i (2.53) \rightarrow *uḍkīśīyi*
 'He will not drink'
ōšty-kīś-o-en-i (2.26,53) \rightarrow *ōštīkīśīyi*
 'I will not say'
ōšry-kīś-o-īy-i (2.26,53) \rightarrow *ōštīkīśēi*
 'He will not say'
nwī:ty-kīś-o-en-i (2.26,53) \rightarrow *nwī:tkīśeni*
 'I will not see'
nwī:ty-kīś-o-īy-i (2.26,53) \rightarrow *nwī:tkīśīyi*
 'He will not see'
pod-kīś-o-p-i \rightarrow *podkīśopi* 'you will not come'
tīd-kīś-o-p-i \rightarrow *tīdkīśopi* 'you will not eat'
pī-kīś-o-p-i \rightarrow *pi:kīśopi* 'you will not go'
uḍ-kīś-o-p-i \rightarrow *uḍkīśopi* 'you will not drink'
ōšty-kīś-o-p-i (2.26) \rightarrow *ōštīkīśopi*
 'you will not say'
nwī:ty-kīś-o-p-i (2.26) \rightarrow *nwī:tkīśopi*
 'you will not see'

4.18. Personal suffixes

{ S_2 — Tense } —
 { S_1 — Neg. } —

4.18.1. *First person singular*

$$\{ -pin- \}$$

$$\infty -pin \infty -pen \infty -n \infty -in \infty -en$$

4.18.1.1. $\infty -pin-$ occurs after present tense and past tense suffixes in declaratives.

Ex. <i>pod-\emptyset-pin-i</i> ¹	—>	<i>podpini</i>	‘come-I’
<i>tīd-\emptyset-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>tīdpini</i>	‘eat-I’
<i>koḍ-\emptyset-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>koḍpini</i>	‘look-I’
<i>kīd-\emptyset-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>kīdpini</i>	‘sprinkle-I’
<i>kaṛṇ-\emptyset-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>kaṛṇpini</i>	‘milk-I’
<i>te:d-\emptyset-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>te:dpini</i>	‘do (work)-I’
<i>sō:d-\emptyset-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>sō:dpini</i>	‘arrive-I’
<i>ud-\emptyset-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>udpini</i>	‘smear-I’
<i>nī:d-\emptyset-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>nī:dpini</i>	‘peep over-I’
<i>pod-s-pin-i</i> (2.42,49)	—>	<i>pozpini</i>	‘came-I’
<i>tīd-s-pin-i</i> (2.44,49)	—>	<i>tīzpini</i>	‘ate-I’
<i>koḍ-s-pin-i</i> (2.48,49)	—>	<i>koḥpini</i>	‘looked-I’
<i>kīdy-s-pin-i</i> (2.26,46,49)	—>	<i>kīžpini</i>	‘sprinkled-I’
<i>kaṛṇ-s-pin-i</i> (2.41)	—>	<i>kaṛspini</i>	‘milked-I’
<i>te:d-s-pin-i</i> (2.44,49)	—>	<i>te:zpini</i>	‘did (work)-I’
<i>sō:d-s-pin-i</i> (2.42,49)	—>	<i>sō:zpini</i>	‘arrived-I’
<i>ud-s-pin-i</i> (2.42,49)	—>	<i>uzpini</i>	‘smeared-I’
<i>nī:d-s-pin-i</i> (2.48,49)	—>	<i>nī:zpini</i>	‘peeped over-I’

1. *i* is segmented as declarative suffix.

<i>uḍ-s-pin-i</i>	(2.48,49)	—>	<i>uḗpini</i> 'drank-I'
<i>naṛø-s-pin-i</i>	(2.41)	—>	<i>naṛspini</i> 'walked-I'
<i>mu:neṭ-s-pin-i</i>	(2.43,49)	—>	<i>mu:nespini</i> 'liked-I'

4 18 1 2. ∞ -pen occurs after tense marker when it is followed by interrogative.

Ex. <i>pi:-ø-pen</i>	—>	<i>pi:pen</i>	'go-I'
<i>pod-ø-pen</i>	—>	<i>podpen</i>	'come-I'
<i>tīḍ-ø-pen</i>	—>	<i>tīḍpen</i>	'eat-I'
<i>uḍ-ø-pen</i>	—>	<i>uḍpen</i>	'drink-I'
<i>kīṣ-ø-pen</i>	—>	<i>kīṣpen</i>	'do-I'
<i>nwī:ṭ-ø-pen</i>	—>	<i>nwī:ṭpen</i>	'look-I'
<i>kaṛø-ø-pen</i>	—>	<i>kaṛøpen</i>	'milk-I'
<i>püṣoḍø-ø-pen</i>	—>	<i>püṣoḍøpen</i>	'call-I'
<i>naṛø-ø-pen</i>	—>	<i>naṛøpen</i>	'walk-I'
<i>pod-s-pen</i>	(2.42,49)	—>	<i>pozpen</i> 'came-I'
<i>tīḍ-s-pen</i>	(2.44,49)	—>	<i>tīḗpen</i> 'ate-I'
<i>uḍ-s-pen</i>	(2.48,49)	—>	<i>ṭṣpen</i> 'drank-I'
<i>nwī:ṭy-s-pen</i>	(2.26,47,49)	—>	<i>nwī:ṣpen</i> 'looked-I'
<i>kaṛø-s-pen</i>	(2.41)	—>	<i>kaṛṣpen</i> 'milked-I'
<i>püṣoḍø-s-pen</i>	(2.41)	—>	<i>püṣoḍṣpen</i> 'called-I'
<i>naṛø-s-pen</i>	(2.41)	—>	<i>naṛṣpen</i> 'walked-I'

4.18.1.3. ∞ -n occurs after tense marker when it is preceded by interrogative

Ex. <i>pi:-θ-n</i>	—> <i>pi:n</i>	‘go-I’
<i>pod-θ-n</i>	—> <i>podn</i>	‘come-I’
<i>tīd-θ-n</i>	—> <i>tīdn</i>	‘eat-I’
<i>uḍ-θ-n</i> (2.17)	—> <i>uḍn</i>	‘drink-I’
<i>o:ḍ-θ-n</i> (2.17)	—> <i>o:ḍn</i>	‘dance-I’
<i>nwī:ty-θ-n</i>	—> <i>nwī:ty n</i>	‘look-I’
<i>kaṛθ-θ-n</i>	—> <i>kaṛen</i>	‘milk-I’
<i>pūṣoḍθ-θ-n</i>	—> <i>pūṣoḍen</i>	‘call-I’
<i>naṛθ-θ-n</i>	—> <i>naṛen</i>	‘walk-I’
<i>pi:-s-n</i> (2.45)	—> <i>pi:šn</i>	‘went-I’
<i>pod-s-n</i> (2.42,49)	—> <i>poz n</i>	‘came-I’
<i>tīd-s-n</i> (2.44,49)	—> <i>tīzn</i>	‘ate-I’
<i>uḍ-s-n</i> (2.48,49,17)	—> <i>uḗn</i>	‘drank-I’
<i>o:ḍ-s-n</i> (2.48,49,17)	—> <i>o:zn</i>	‘danced-I’
<i>nwī:ty-s-n</i> (2.26,47,49,17)	—> <i>nwī:šn</i>	‘looked-I’
<i>kaṛθ-s-n</i> (2.41)	—> <i>kaṛsn</i>	‘milked-I’
<i>pūṣoḍθ-s-n</i> (2.41)	—> <i>pūṣoḍsn</i>	‘called-I’
<i>naṛθ-s-n</i> (2.41)	—> <i>naṛsn</i>	‘walked-I’

4.18.1.4. ∞ -in occurs after voluntative suffix -k.

Ex. <i>kīy-k-in</i>	—> <i>kīykin</i>	‘I will do’
<i>tīn-k-in</i>	—> <i>tīnkin</i>	‘I will eat’
<i>nīl k-in</i>	—> <i>nīlkin</i>	‘I will stand’
<i>paš-k-in</i>	—> <i>paškin</i>	‘I will come’
<i>taš-k-in</i>	—> <i>taškin</i>	‘I will give’

<i>uṇ-k-in</i>	—>	<i>uṇkin</i>	‘I will drink’
<i>nwī:ṭ-k-in</i>	—>	<i>nwī:ṭkin</i>	‘I will see’
<i>ōšt-k-in</i>	—>	<i>ōštkin</i>	‘I will say’
<i>kwīṭ-k-in</i>	—>	<i>kwīṭkin</i>	‘I will give’
<i>ūrṭ-k-in</i>	—>	<i>ūrṭkin</i>	‘I will play (puxury)’
<i>pī:x-k-in</i>	—>	<i>pī:xkin</i>	‘I will go’
<i>teṭ-k-in</i>	—>	<i>teṭkin</i>	‘I will open’

4.18.1.5. ∞ *en-* occurs (1) after tense and before conditional suffix *-wīṭ* and (2) after the negative and before declarative suffix *-i*.

Ex. <i>pod-ḡ-en-wīṭ</i>	—>	<i>podenwīṭ</i>	‘If I come’
<i>pī:-ḡ-en-wīṭ</i>	—>	<i>pī:enwīṭ</i>	‘If I go’
<i>naṭḡ-en-wīṭ</i>	—>	<i>naṭḡenwīṭ</i>	‘If I walk’
<i>kīs-ḡ-en-wīṭ</i>	—>	<i>kīsenwīṭ</i>	‘If I do’
<i>po:r-o-en-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>po:reni</i>	‘I did not come’
<i>pī:x-o-en-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>pī:xeni</i>	‘I did not go’
<i>tīn-o-en-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>tīneni</i>	‘I did not eat’
<i>uṇ-o-en-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>uṇeni</i>	‘I did not drink’
<i>kīy-o-en-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>kīyeni</i>	‘I did not go’
<i>nīl-o-en-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>nīleni</i>	‘I did not stand’

<i>kaʃ-o-en-i</i>	(2 53)	—>	<i>kaʃeni</i> 'I did not read'
<i>ōšt-o-en-i</i>	(2 53)	—>	<i>ōšteni</i> 'I did not say'
<i>pint-o-en-i</i>	(2 53)	—>	<i>pinteni</i> 'I did not ask'
<i>podkīś-o-en-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>podkīśeni</i> 'I will not come'
<i>pi:kīś-o-en-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>pi:kīśeni</i> 'I will not go'
<i>tīḍkīś-o-en-i</i>	(2 53)	—>	<i>tīḍkīśeni</i> 'I will not eat'
<i>uḍkīś-o-en-i</i>	(2 53)	—>	<i>uḍkīśeni</i> 'I will not drink'
<i>ōštḱīś-o-en-i</i>	(2 53)	—>	<i>ōštḱīśeni</i> 'I will not say'
<i>wī:ḍkīś-o-en-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>wī:ḍkīśeni</i> 'I will not run'
<i>parekīś-o-en-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>parekīśeni</i> 'I will not write'
<i>nīḍkīś-o-en-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>nīḍkīśeni</i> 'I will not stand'

First person plural (excl.)

{ -pim- }

∞ -pim ∞ -pem ∞ -m ∞ im ∞ -em

4 18.1.6. ∞ -*pim*- occurs after the tense in declarative.

Ex. <i>tīd-Ø-pim-i</i>	—>	<i>tīdpimi</i>	‘eat-we (excl.)’
<i>pīl-Ø-pim-i</i>	—>	<i>pīlpimi</i>	‘carry-we (excl.)’
<i>koḍ-Ø-pim-i</i>	—>	<i>koḍpimi</i>	‘look-we (excl.)’
<i>twa:nt-Ø-pim-i</i>	—>	<i>twa:ntpimi</i>	‘sweep-we (excl.)’
<i>nīd-Ø-pim-i</i>	—>	<i>nīdpimi</i>	‘stand-we (excl.)’
<i>pi:-Ø-pim-i</i>	—>	<i>pi:pimi</i>	‘go-we (excl.)’
<i>uḍ-Ø-pim-i</i>	—>	<i>uḍpimi</i>	‘drink-we (excl.)’
<i>pod-Ø-pim-i</i>	—>	<i>podpimi</i>	‘come-we (excl.)’
<i>tīd-s-pim-i</i> (2.44,49)	—>	<i>tīzpimi</i>	‘ate-we (excl.)’
<i>pod-s-pim-i</i> (2.42,49)	—>	<i>pozpimi</i>	‘came-we (excl.)’
<i>koḍ-s-pim-i</i> (2.48,49)	—>	<i>kozpimi</i>	‘looked-we (excl.)’
<i>uḍ-s-pim-i</i> (2.48,49)	—>	<i>uzpimi</i>	‘drank-we (excl.)’
<i>nīd-s-pīm-i</i> (2.44,49)	—>	<i>nīzpimi</i>	‘stood-we (excl.)’

4 18 1.7. ∞ -*pem* occurs after tense when it is followed by interrogative.

Ex <i>pi:-Ø-pem</i>	—>	<i>pi:pem</i>	‘go-we’
<i>pod-Ø-pem</i>	—>	<i>podpem</i>	‘come-we’
<i>tīd-Ø-pem</i>	—>	<i>tīdpem</i>	‘eat-we’
<i>uḍ-Ø-pem</i>	—>	<i>uḍpem</i>	‘drink-we’
<i>nwī:l-Ø-pem</i>	—>	<i>nwī:lpem</i>	‘look-we’

<i>o:d-Ø-pem</i>	—>	<i>o:ḍpem</i>	‘dance-we’
<i>ōšt-Ø-pem</i>	—>	<i>ōštṭpem</i>	‘say-we’
<i>pod-s-pem</i>	(2.42,49) —>	<i>pozṭem</i>	‘came-we’
<i>tīḍ-s-pem</i>	(2.44,49) —>	<i>tīṣpem</i>	‘ate-we’
<i>uḍ-s-pem</i>	(2.48,49) —>	<i>uṣpem</i>	‘drank-we’
<i>nwī:ty-s-pem</i>	(2.26,47,49) —>	<i>nwī:ṣpem</i>	‘looked-we’

4.18.1.8. ∞ -*m* occurs after tense marker when it is preceded by interrogative

Ex. <i>pi:-Ø-m</i>	—>	<i>pi:m</i>	‘go-we’
<i>pod-Ø-m</i>	—>	<i>podm</i>	‘come-we’
<i>tīḍ-Ø-m</i>	—>	<i>tīḍm</i>	‘eat-we’
<i>uḍ-Ø-m</i>	—>	<i>uḍm</i>	‘drink-we’
<i>nwī:t-Ø-m</i>	—>	<i>nwī:ṭm</i>	‘look-we’
<i>pod-s-m</i>	(2.42,49) —>	<i>pozṃ</i>	‘came-we’
<i>tīḍ-s-m</i>	(2.44,49) —>	<i>tīṣṃ</i>	‘ate-we’
<i>uḍ-s-m</i>	(2.48,49) —>	<i>uṣṃ</i>	‘drank-we’
<i>nwī:ty-s-m</i>	(2.26,47,49) —>	<i>nwī:ṣṃ</i>	‘looked-we’

4.18.1.9. ∞ -*im* occurs after voluntative suffix -*k*.

Ex. <i>kīy-k-im</i>	—>	<i>kīykim</i>	‘we will do (excl.)’
<i>ōšt-k-im</i>	—>	<i>ōštṭkim</i>	‘we will say (excl.)’
<i>nwī:t-k-im</i>	—>	<i>nwī:ṭkim</i>	‘we will look (excl.)’
<i>paš-k-im</i>	—>	<i>paškim</i>	‘we will come (excl.)’

<i>taš-k-im</i>	—>	<i>taškim</i>	‘we will give (excl.)’
<i>naṛ-k-im</i>	—>	<i>naṛkim</i>	‘we will walk(excl.)’
<i>uṇ-k-im</i>	—>	<i>uṇkim</i>	‘we will drink (excl.)’
<i>aṭ-k-in</i>	—>	<i>aṭkim</i>	‘we will measure (excl.)’

4.18.1.10. ∞ -em- occurs after tense when it is followed the conditional marker and it also occurs after the negative and before declarative suffix -i

Ex. <i>pod-θ-em-wīṛ</i>	—>	<i>podemwīṛ</i>	‘if we come’
<i>pi-θ-em-wīṛ</i>	—>	<i>pi:emwīṛ</i>	‘if we go’
<i>naṛθ-θ-em-wīṛ</i>	—>	<i>naṛθemwīṛ</i>	‘if we walk’
<i>pī:x-o-em-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>pī:xemi</i>	‘we did not go’
<i>tīn-o-em-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>tīnemi</i>	‘we did not eat’
<i>uṇ-o-em-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>uṇemi</i>	‘we did not drink’
<i>kīy-o-em-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>kīyemi</i>	‘we did not do’
<i>nīl-o-em-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>nīlemi</i>	‘we did not stand’
<i>paṛ-o-em-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>paremi</i>	‘we did not write’
<i>kaṭ-o-em-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>kaṭemi</i>	‘we did not learn’
<i>naṛ-o-em-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>naṛemi</i>	‘we did not walk’
<i>kwīṛ-o-em-i</i>	(2.53) —>	<i>kwīṛemi</i>	‘we did not give’

- podkĩṣ-o-em-i* (2.53) —> *podkĩṣemi*
‘we will not come’
- tīḍkĩṣ-o-em-i* (2.53) —> *tīḍkĩṣemi*
‘we will not eat’
- uḍkĩṣ-o-em-i* (2.53) —> *uḍkĩṣemi*
‘we will not drink’
- nīḍkĩṣ-o-em-i* (2.53) —> *nīḍkĩṣemi*
‘we will not stand’
- pi:kĩṣ-o-em-i* (2.53) —> *pi:kĩṣemi*
‘we will not go’
- ōṣtkĩṣ-o-em-i* (2.53) —> *ōṣtkĩṣemi*
‘we will not say’
- wī:ḍkĩṣ-o-em-i* (2.53) —> *wī:ḍkĩṣemi*
‘we will not run’

First person plural (incl.)

{ -pum- }

∞-pum- ∞-m ∞-um

- 4.18.1.11 ∞-pum- occurs after tense in declaratives and also occurs after tense when it is followed by interrogative.

- Ex. *tīḍ-Ø-pum-i* —> *tīḍpumī* ‘eat-we (incl.)’
pīt-Ø-pum-i —> *pītpumī* ‘sow (seed)-we (incl.)’
koḍ-Ø-pum-i —> *koḍpumī* ‘look-we (incl.)’
nīḍ-Ø-pum-i —> *nīḍpumī* ‘stand-we (incl.)’
pod-Ø-pum-i —> *podpumī* ‘come-we (incl.)’
naṛə-Ø-pum-i —> *naṛəpumī* ‘walk-we (incl.)’

<i>aʔə-θ-pum-i</i>	—>	<i>aʔəpumi</i>	'measure-we (incl.)'
<i>kwīrt-θ-pum-i</i>	—>	<i>kwīrtpumi</i>	'give-we'
<i>kaɿ-θ-pum-i</i>	—>	<i>kaɿpumi</i>	'learn-we'
<i>pi:-θ-pum-i</i>	—>	<i>pi:pumi</i>	'go-we'
<i>tīd-s-pum-i</i> (2.44,49)	—>	<i>tīz̥pumi</i>	'ate-we'
<i>koɖ-s-pum-i</i> (2.48,49)	—>	<i>koz̥pumi</i>	'looked-we'
<i>nīd-s-pum-i</i> (2.44,49)	—>	<i>niž̥pumi</i>	'stood-we'
<i>poɖ-s-pum-i</i> (2.42,49)	—>	<i>poz̥pumi</i>	'came-we'
<i>naʔə-s-pum-i</i> (2.41)	—>	<i>naʔspumi</i>	'walked-we'
<i>kwīrt-s-pum-i</i> (2.41)	—>	<i>kwīrtspumi</i>	'gave-we'
<i>pi:-θ-pum</i>	—>	<i>pi:pum</i>	'go-we'
<i>poɖ-θ-pum</i>	—>	<i>poɖpum</i>	'come-we'
<i>tīd-θ-pum</i>	—>	<i>tīd̥pum</i>	'eat-we'
<i>uɖ-θ-pum</i>	—>	<i>uɖpum</i>	'drink-we'
<i>nwī:ɿ-θ-pum</i>	—>	<i>nwī:ɿpum</i>	'look-we'
<i>poɖ-s-pum</i> (2.42,49)	>	<i>poz̥pum</i>	'came-we'
<i>tīd-s-pum</i> (2.44,49)	—>	<i>tīz̥pum</i>	'ate-we'
<i>uɖ-s-pum</i> (2.48,49)	—>	<i>uz̥pum</i>	'drank-we'
<i>nwī:ty-s-pum</i> (2.26,47,49)	—>	<i>nwī:spum</i>	'looked-we'

4.18.1.12. ∞ -*m* occurs after tense when 'it is preceded by interrogative.

Ex. <i>pi:-ø-m</i>	—>	<i>pi:m</i>	'go-we'
<i>pod-ø-m</i>	—>	<i>podm</i>	'come-we'
<i>tīd-ø-m</i>	—>	<i>tīdm</i>	'eat-we'
<i>uḍ-ø-m</i>	—>	<i>uḍm</i>	'drink-we'
<i>nwī:ty-ø-m</i>	—>	<i>nwī:ty m</i>	'look-we'
<i>kaṛø-ø-m</i>	—>	<i>kaṛø m</i>	'milk-we'
<i>pūṣoḍø-ø-m</i>	—>	<i>pūṣoḍø m</i>	'call-we'
<i>pod-s-m</i>	(2.42,49)	—>	<i>poz m</i> 'came-we'
<i>tīd-s-m</i>	(2.44,49)	—>	<i>tīz m</i> 'ate-we'
<i>uḍ-s-m</i>	(2.48,49)	—>	<i>uḗ m</i> 'drank-we'
<i>nwī:ty-s-m</i>	(2.26,47,49)	—>	<i>nwī:š m</i> 'looked-we'
<i>kaṛø-s-m</i>	(2.41)	—>	<i>kaṛš m</i> 'milked-we'
<i>pūṣoḍø-s-m</i>	(2.41)	—>	<i>pūṣoḍš m</i> 'called-we'

4.18.1.13. ∞ -*um-* occurs after present-future and past negative marker and occurs after voluntative suffix -*k* and also occurs after tense suffix when it is followed by conditional marker -*wīʔ*.

Ex. *podkīš-o-um-i* (2.53) —> *podkīšum i*
'we will not come'

<i>iṭḍkīṣ-o-um-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>iṭḍkīṣumi</i>	‘we will not eat’
<i>uḍkīṣ-o-um-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>uḍkīṣumi</i>	‘we will not drink’
<i>nīḍkīṣ-o-um-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>nīḍkīṣumi</i>	‘we will not stand’
<i>ōṣṭkīṣ-o-um-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>ōṣṭkīṣumi</i>	‘we will not say’
<i>po:r-o-um-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>po:rumi</i>	‘we did not come’
<i>kīy-o-um-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>kīyumi</i>	‘we did not do’
<i>nīl-o-um-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>nīlumi</i>	‘we did not stand’
<i>naṛ-o-um-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>naṛumi</i>	‘we did not walk’
<i>wī:ḍ-o-um-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>wī:ḍumi</i>	‘we did not run’
<i>kīy-k-um</i>	—>		<i>kīykum</i>	‘we will do’
<i>uṇ-k-um</i>	—>		<i>uṇkum</i>	‘we will drink’
<i>ōṣṭ-k-um</i>	—>		<i>ōṣṭikum</i>	‘we will say’
<i>naṛ-k-um</i>	—>		<i>naṛkum</i>	‘we will walk’
<i>pod-ḡ-um-wīṛ</i>	—>		<i>podumwīṛ</i>	‘If we come’
<i>pī:-ḡ-um-wīṛ</i>	—>		<i>pī:umwīṛ</i>	‘If we go’
<i>naṛḡ-ḡ-um-wīṛ</i>	—>		<i>naṛḡumwīṛ</i>	‘If we walk’

4.18.2. Second person singular

$$\{ -p- \}$$

$$\infty -p- \quad \infty -py \quad \infty -ty \quad \infty -y \quad \infty -t$$

4.18.2.1. ∞ -p- occurs after tense and negative suffix.

Ex. <i>pod-Ø-p-i</i>	—>	<i>podpi</i>	‘come-you (Sg)’
<i>tīd-Ø-p-i</i>	—>	<i>tīdpi</i>	‘eat-you’
<i>pi:-Ø-p-i</i>	—>	<i>pi:pi</i>	‘go-you’
<i>nīd-Ø-p-i</i>	—>	<i>nīdpi</i>	‘stand-you’
<i>pīt-Ø-p-i</i>	—>	<i>pītpi</i>	‘sow-you’
<i>naṛə-Ø-p-i</i>	—>	<i>naṛəpi</i>	‘walk-you’
<i>pod-s-p-i</i>	(2.42,49) —>	<i>pozpi</i>	‘came-you’
<i>tīd-s-p-i</i>	(2.44,49) —>	<i>tīzpi</i>	‘ate-you’
<i>nīd-s-p-i</i>	(2.44,49) —>	<i>nīzpi</i>	‘stood-we’
<i>pīty-s-p-i</i>	(2.26,45,49) —>	<i>pīšpi</i>	‘sowed-you’
<i>naṛə-s-p-i</i>	(2.41) —>	<i>naṛspi</i>	‘walked-you’
<i>po:r-Ø-p-i</i>	—>	<i>po:ropi</i>	‘you did not come’
<i>nīl-o-p-i</i>	—>	<i>nīlopi</i>	‘you did not stand’
<i>tīn-o-p-i</i>	—>	<i>tīnopi</i>	‘you did not eat’
<i>uṇ-o-p-i</i>	—>	<i>uṇopi</i>	‘you did not drink’
<i>wī:d-o-p-i</i>	—>	<i>wī:ḍopi</i>	‘you did not run’
<i>ōšt-o-p-i</i>	—>	<i>ōštōpi</i>	‘you did not say’
<i>a:foṛ-o-p-i</i>	—>	<i>a:foṛopi</i>	‘you did not talk’
<i>par-o-p-i</i>	—>	<i>paropi</i>	‘you did not write’
<i>kīy-o-p-i</i>	—>	<i>kīyopi</i>	‘you did not do’
<i>oj-o-p-i</i>	—>	<i>ojopi</i>	‘you did not fear’
<i>pūṣoḍ-o-p-i</i>	—>	<i>pūṣoḍopi</i>	‘you did not call’
<i>kaṛ-o-p-i</i>	—>	<i>kaṛopi</i>	‘you did not milk’
<i>teṛ-o-p-i</i>	—>	<i>teṛopi</i>	‘you did not open’

4.18.2.2. ∞ -py occurs after tense when it is followed by interrogative.

Ex. <i>pi:-θ-py</i>	—>	<i>pi:py</i>	‘go-you’
<i>pod-θ-py</i>	—>	<i>podpy</i>	‘come-you’
<i>tīd-θ-py</i>	—>	<i>tīdpy</i>	‘eat-you’
<i>ud-θ-py</i>	—>	<i>udpy</i>	‘drink-you’
<i>o:d-θ-py</i>	—>	<i>o:dpy</i>	‘play-you’
<i>kīs-θ-py</i>	—>	<i>kīspy</i>	‘do-you’
<i>nwī:ty-θ-py</i>	—>	<i>nwī:typy</i>	‘look-you’
<i>pod-s-py</i>	(2.42,49) —>	<i>pozpy</i>	‘came-you’
<i>tīd-s-py</i>	(2.44,49) —>	<i>tīzpy</i>	‘ate-you’
<i>ud-s-py</i>	(2.48,49) —>	<i>uzpy</i>	‘drank-you’
<i>o:d-s-py</i>	(2.48,49) —>	<i>o:zpy</i>	‘played-you’
<i>nwī:ty-s-py</i>	(2.26,47,49) —>	<i>nwī:spy</i>	‘looked-you’

4.18.2.3. ∞ -ty occurs after tense when it is preceded by interrogative.

Ex. <i>pi:-θ-ty</i>	—>	<i>pi:ty</i>	‘go-you’
<i>pod-θ-ty</i>	—>	<i>podty</i>	‘come-you’
<i>tīd-θ-ty</i>	—>	<i>tīdty</i>	‘eat-you’
<i>ud-θ-ty</i>	—>	<i>udty</i>	‘drink-you’
<i>par-θ-ty</i>	—>	<i>party</i>	‘write-you’
<i>kīs-θ-ty</i>	—>	<i>kīsty</i>	‘do-you’
<i>o:d-θ-ty</i>	—>	<i>o:dty</i>	‘play-you’
<i>nwī:t-θ-ty</i>	—>	<i>nwī:tyty</i>	‘look-you’
<i>karə-θ-ty</i>	—>	<i>karəty</i>	‘milk-you’
<i>pūşode-θ-ty</i>	—>	<i>pūşodety</i>	‘call-you’

4.18.2.4. ∞ -y- occurs after tense and before conditional suffix -wīṛ.

Ex. <i>pod-θ-y-wīṛ</i>	—> <i>podywīṛ</i>	‘if you come’
<i>īd-θ-y-wīṛ</i>	—> <i>īdywīṛ</i>	‘if you say’
<i>pi:-θ-y-wīṛ</i>	—> <i>pi:ywīṛ</i>	‘if you go’

4.18.2.5. ∞ -t- occurs after prohibitive suffix -o

Ex. <i>pod-o-t-i</i>	—> <i>podoti</i>	‘do not come-you’
<i>tīd-o-t-i</i>	—> <i>tīdoti</i>	‘do not eat’
<i>uḍ-o-t-i</i>	—> <i>uḍoti</i>	‘do not drink’
<i>naṛə-o-t-i</i>	—> <i>naṛəoti</i>	‘do not walk’
<i>nwī:ty-o-t-i</i>	—> <i>nwī:tyoti</i>	‘do not look’
<i>kwīḍ-o-t-i</i>	—> <i>kwīḍoti</i>	‘do not quarrel’
<i>ko:t-o-t-i</i>	—> <i>ko:toti</i>	‘do not show’
<i>wī:rīṭ-o-t-i</i>	—> <i>wī:rīṭoti</i>	‘do not listen’

Second person plural-

{ -tš- }

∞ -tš, ~š ∞ -š ∞ -s

4.18.2.6. ∞ -tš occurs after tense in declaratives and it occurs after tense when it is followed and preceded by interrogative. It is free variation with -š

Ex. <i>tīd-θ-tš-i</i>	—> <i>tīdtš-i</i>	‘eat-you (pl.)’
<i>koḍ-θ-tš-i</i>	—> <i>koḍtš-i</i>	‘look-you’
<i>kark-θ-tš-i</i>	—> <i>karktš-i</i>	‘melt-you’
<i>pod-θ-tš-i</i>	—> <i>podtš-i</i>	‘con.e-you’

<i>sō:d-θ-tš-i</i>	—>	<i>sō:dtš-i</i>	'arrive-you'
<i>nīd-θ-tš-i</i>	—>	<i>nīdtš-i</i>	'stand-you'
<i>te:d-θ-tš-i</i>	—>	<i>te:dtš-i</i>	'do (work)-you'
<i>ni:d-θ-tš-i</i>	—>	<i>ni:dtš-i</i>	'peepover-you'
<i>uḍ-θ-tš-i</i>	—>	<i>uḍtš-i</i>	'drink' -you'
<i>teškwīd-θ-tš-i</i>	—>	<i>teškwīdtš-i</i>	'hug-you'
<i>kīdθ-θ-tš-i</i>	—>	<i>kīdtš-i</i>	'sprinkle-you'
<i>pi:-θ-tš</i>	—>	<i>pi:tš</i>	'go-you'
<i>pod-θ-tš~</i>	—>	<i>podtš</i>	
<i>·pod-θ-tš</i>	—>	<i>podš</i>	'come-you'
<i>tīd-θ-ts~</i>	—>	<i>tīdtš</i>	
<i>tīd-θ-tš</i>	—>	<i>tīdš</i>	'eat-you'
<i>kīst-θ-tš</i>	—>	<i>kīstš</i>	'do-you'
<i>nwī:t-θ-tš</i>	—>	<i>nwī:ttš</i>	'look-you'
<i>kaṛθ-θ-tš</i>	—>	<i>kaṛətš</i>	'milk-you'
<i>naṛθ-θ-tš</i>	—>	<i>naṛətš</i>	'walk-you'

4.18.2.7. ∞ -š- occurs after negative.

Ex. <i>po:r-o-š-i</i>	(2.53.)	—>	<i>po:rš-i</i>	'you did not come'
<i>kīy-o-š-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>kīyš-i</i>	'you did not do'
<i>ōšt-o-š-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>ōštš-i</i>	'you did not say'
<i>par-o-š-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>parš-i</i>	'you did not write'
<i>kaṭ-o-š-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>kaṭš-i</i>	'you did not learn'

<i>wī:d-o-š-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>wī:dšī</i>	‘you did not run’
<i>nīl-o-š-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>nīlšī</i>	‘you did not stand’
<i>naṛ-o-š-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>naṛšī</i>	‘you did not walk’
<i>poṛ-o-š-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>poṛšī</i>	‘you did not lie down’
<i>pī:x-o-š-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>pī:xšī</i>	‘you did not go’
<i>pīnt-o-š-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>pīntšī</i>	‘you did not ask’
<i>tīn-o-š-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>tīnšī</i>	‘you did not eat’

4.18.2.18. ∞ -s- occurs after prohibitive suffix -o.

Ex. <i>pod-o-s-i</i>	—>	<i>podosi</i>	‘do not come-you (pl.)’
<i>pīnt-o-s-i</i>	—>	<i>pīntosi</i>	‘do not ask’
<i>tīd-o-s-i</i>	—>	<i>tīdosi</i>	‘do not eat’
<i>poṛ-o-s-i</i>	—>	<i>poṛosi</i>	‘do not lie down’
<i>pūṣoḍe-o-s-i</i>	—>	<i>pūṣoḍeoṣi</i>	‘do not call’

4.18.3. *Third person*

Singular and plural

{ -t- }

∞ -t- ∞ -u ∞ -k ∞ -n

4.18.3.1. ∞ -t- occurs (1) after tense in declaratives and occurs when it is followed by interrogative and (2) also occurs after negative suffix and it is in free variation with = $\bar{t}y$ in negative.

Ex. $t\bar{t}d-\emptyset-t-i$	—>	$t\bar{t}d\bar{t}i$ ‘eats—he/she/it eat—they’
$pi:-\emptyset-t-i$	—>	$pi:ti$ ‘goes—he/she/it go—they’
$ko\dot{d}-\emptyset-t-i$	—>	$ko\dot{d}ti$ ‘looks—he/she/it look—they’
$pod-\emptyset-t-i$	—>	$podti$ ‘comes—he/she/it come—they’
$n\bar{t}d-\emptyset-t-i$	—>	$n\bar{t}d\bar{t}i$ ‘stands—he/she/it stand—they’
$k\bar{t}s-\emptyset-t-i$	—>	$k\bar{t}sti$ ‘does—he/she/it do—they’
$p\bar{t}i-\emptyset-t-i$	—>	$p\bar{t}i\bar{t}i$ ‘carries—he/she carry—they’
$w\bar{t}:\bar{t}-\emptyset-t-i$	—>	$w\bar{t}:\bar{t}ti$ ‘drives (calf)—he/she drive—they’
$ko:t-\emptyset-t-i$	—>	$ko:t\bar{t}i$ ‘shows—he/she show—they’
$ku\bar{t}-\emptyset-t-i$	—>	$ku\bar{t}ti$ ‘pounds—she pound—they’
$o:r-\emptyset-t-i$	—>	$o:r\bar{t}i$ ‘weeps—he/she weep—they’
$pi:-s-t-i$	(2.45,50) —>	$pi:\bar{c}i$ ‘went—he/she/it/they’

- e:mo:ty-s-t-i* (2.26,45,49,50) —> *e:mo:či*
'deceived-he/she/they'
- püşodø-s-t-i* (2.41,50) —> *püşodči*
'called-he/she/they'
- parø-s-t-i* (2.41,50) —> *parči*
'wrote-he/she/they'
- pi:-ø-t* —> *pi:t* 'goes-he/she
go-they'
- pod-ʝ-t* —> *podt* 'comes-he/she
come-they'
- tīd-ø-t* —> *tīdt* 'eats-he/she/it
eat-they'
- uđ-ø-t* —> *uđt* 'drinks-he/she
drink-they'
- o:d-ø-t* —> *o:dt* 'dances-he
dance-they'
- kīs-ø-t* —> *kīst* 'does-he/she
do-they'
- nwī:t-ø-t* —> *nwī:tt* 'looks-he/she
look-they'
- karø-ø-t* —> *karøt* 'milks-he
milk-they'
- pi.š-t* (2.50) —> *pi:č* 'went-he/she/it
went-they'
- pī:x-o-t-i ~* —> *pī:xoti*
pī:x-o-īy-i (2.53) —> *pī:xīyi*
'he/she/it did not go'

tīn-o-t-i~ —> *tīnoti*
tīn-o-īy-i (2.53) —> *tīnīyi*
 'he/she/it did not eat'

uṇ-o-t-i~ —> *uṇoti*
uṇ-o-īy-i (2.53) —> *uṇīyi*
 'he/she/it did not break'

kīy-o-t-i~ —> *kīyoti*
kīy-o-īy-i (2.53) —> *kīyīyi*
 'he/she/ did not do (work)'

po:r-o-t-i~ —> *po:roti*
po:r-o-īy-i (2.53) —> *po:rīyi*
 'he/she/it did not come'

podkīṣ-o-īy-i (2.53) —> *podkīṣīyi*
 'he/she/ they will not come'

tīḍkīṣ-o-īy-i (2.53) —> *tīḍkīṣīyi*
 'he/she/they will not eat'

uḍkīṣ-o-īy-i (2.53) —> *uḍkīṣīyi*
 'he/she/they will not drink'

pi:kīṣ-o-īy-i (2.53) —> *pi:kīṣīyi*
 'he/she/ they will not go'

4.18.3.2. ∞ -u occurs after tense suffix when it is preceded by interrogative

Ex. *pi:-ḥ-u* —> *pi:u* 'goes-he/she
 go-they'

pod-ḥ-u —> *podu* 'comes-he/she
 come-they'

tīḍ-ḥ-u —> *tīḍu* 'eats-he/she
 eat-they'

<i>uḍ-Ø-u</i>	—>	<i>uḍu</i> ‘drinks-he/she drink-they’
<i>kĩs-Ø-u</i>	—>	<i>kĩsu</i> ‘does-he/she do-they,’
<i>nwĩ:t-Ø-u</i>	—>	<i>nwĩ:tu</i> ‘looks-he/she look-they’
<i>karø-Ø-u</i>	—>	<i>karøu</i> ‘milks-he milk-they’
<i>püşoḍø-Ø-u</i>	—>	<i>püşoḍøu</i> ‘calls-he/she call-they’
<i>narø-Ø-u</i>	—>	<i>narøu</i> ‘walks-he/she/it walk-they’

4.18.3.3. ∞ -*k* occurs after past tense suffix when it is preceded by interrogative.

Ex. <i>pod-s-k</i>	(2.42,49)	—>	<i>poz_k</i> ‘came-he/she/they’
<i>tĩḍ-s-k</i>	(2.44,49)	—>	<i>tĩḍ_k</i> ‘ate-he/she/they,’
<i>uḍ-s-k</i>	(2.48,49)	—>	<i>uḍ_k</i> ‘drank-he/she/they’
<i>o:ḍ-s-k</i>	(2.48,49)	—>	<i>o:ḍ_k</i> ‘danced-he/she/they’
<i>nwĩ:ty-s-k</i>	(2.26,47,49)	—>	<i>nwĩ:ṣ_k</i> ‘looked-he/she/they’
<i>karø-s-k</i>	(2.41)	—>	<i>kar_{sk}</i> ‘milked-he/they’
<i>püşoḍø-s-k</i>	(2.41)	—>	<i>püşoḍ_{sk}</i> ‘called-he/she/they’

<i>naṛθ-s-k</i>	(2.41)	—>	<i>naṛsk</i>	‘walked-he/she/they ,
<i>aṭo-s-k</i>	(2.41)	—>	<i>aṭsk</i>	‘measured-he/she/they ’
<i>pi:ṛfoθ-s-k</i>	(2.41)	—>	<i>pi:ṛfosk</i>	‘kissed-he/she ’
<i>paft-s-k</i>	(2.41)	—>	<i>pafsk</i>	‘kicked-he/she/they ’
<i>teṣamt-s-k</i>	(2.41)	—>	<i>teṣamsk</i>	‘performed hair-cutting and naming ceremony ’

4.18.3.4. ∞ -n occurs after tense suffix and before conditional suffix -wīṛ.

Ex. <i>pod-θ-n-wīṛ</i>	—>	<i>podnwīṛ</i>	‘if he comes ’
<i>pi:θ-n-wīṛ</i>	—>	<i>pi:nwīṛ</i>	‘if he goes ’
<i>naṛθ-θ-n-wīṛ</i>	—>	<i>naṛθnwīṛ</i>	‘if he walks ’
<i>uḍ-θ-n-wīṛ</i>	—>	<i>uḍnwīṛ</i>	‘if he drinks ’
<i>tīḍ-θ-n-wīṛ</i>	—>	<i>tīḍnwīṛ</i>	‘if he eats ’

4.19. Declarative

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} S_2 - \text{Tense- Pers. sfx.} \\ S_1 - \text{Neg- Pers. sfx.} \end{array} \right\} -$$

$$\left\{ -i \right\}$$

$$\sim -i$$

4.19. ~ -i

Ex. *pod-θ-pin-i* —> *podpini* ‘come-I’

<i>tīd-θ-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>tīdpini</i>	‘eat-I’
<i>koḍ-θ-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>koḍpini</i>	‘look-I’
<i>pod-s-pin-i</i>	(2.42,49)	—>	<i>pozpini</i> ‘came-I’
<i>te:d-s-pin-i</i>	(2.44,49)	—>	<i>te:zpini</i> ‘did (work)-I’
<i>po:r-o-en-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>po:reni</i> ‘I did not come’
<i>pī:x-o-en-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>pī:xeni</i> ‘I did not go’
<i>podkīś-o-en-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>podkīśeni</i> ‘I will not come’
<i>tīd-θ-pim-i</i>	—>	<i>tīdpimi</i>	‘eat-we (excl.)’
<i>pī t-θ-pim-i</i>	—>	<i>pī t pimi</i>	‘carry-we’
<i>pī:x-o-em-i</i>	—>	<i>pī:xemi</i>	‘we did not go’
<i>nīl-o-em-i</i>	—>	<i>nīlemi</i>	‘we did not stand’
<i>koḍ-θ-pum-i</i>	—>	<i>koḍpumi</i>	‘look-we (incl.)’
<i>nīd-θ-pum-i</i>	—>	<i>nīdpumi</i>	‘stand-we’
<i>kīy-o-um-i</i>	(2.53)	—>	<i>kīyumi</i> ‘we did not do’
<i>pi:-θ-p-i</i>	—>	<i>pi:pi</i>	‘go-you (sg.)’
<i>naṛə-θ-p-i</i>	—>	<i>naṛəpi</i>	‘walk-you (sg.)’
<i>pod-s-p-i</i>	(2.42,49)	—>	<i>pozpi</i> ‘came-you’
<i>tīn-o-p-i</i>	—>	<i>tīnopi</i>	‘you did not eat’
<i>pod-o-t-i</i>	—>	<i>podoti</i>	‘do not come’
<i>kark-θ-tś-i</i>	—>	<i>karktśi</i>	‘melt-you (pl.)’
<i>kaṛ-o-ś-i</i>	—>	<i>kaṛośi</i>	‘you did not learn’
<i>pod o-ś-i</i>	—>	<i>podośi</i>	‘do not come-you (pl.)’

<i>tīd-Ø-t-i</i>	—>	<i>tīd̥ti</i>	'eats-he/she/it, eat-they'
<i>pod-Ø-t-i</i>	—>	<i>podti</i>	'comes-he/she/it, come-they'
<i>pī:x-Ø-t-i</i>	—>	<i>pī:xoti</i>	'he/she/it did not go'

4.20. Conditional

S₂- Tense- Pers. Sfx-.

{ -wīɾ }

~ - wīɾ

4.20.1. ~ - wīɾ occurs after personal suffix.

Ex. <i>pod-Ø-en-wīɾ</i>	—>	<i>podenwīɾ</i>	'if I come'
<i>pod-Ø-y-wīɾ</i>	—>	<i>podywīɾ</i>	'if you come'
<i>pod-Ø-n-wīɾ</i>	—>	<i>podnwīɾ</i>	'if he comes'
<i>naɾə-Ø-en-wīɾ</i>	—>	<i>naɾeenwīɾ</i>	'if I walk'
<i>naɾə-Ø-y-wīɾ</i>	—>	<i>naɾeywīɾ</i>	'if you walk'
<i>naɾə-Ø-n-wīɾ</i>	—>	<i>naɾenwīɾ</i>	'if he walks'
<i>pi:-Ø-en-wīɾ</i>	—>	<i>pi:enwīɾ</i>	'if I go'
<i>pi:-Ø-y-wīɾ</i>	—>	<i>pi:ywīɾ</i>	'if you go'
<i>pi:-Ø-n-wīɾ</i>	—>	<i>pi:nwīɾ</i>	'if he goes'
<i>īd-Ø-en-wīɾ</i>	—>	<i>īdenwīɾ</i>	'if I say'
<i>īd-Ø-y-wīɾ</i>	—>	<i>īdywīɾ</i>	'if you say'
<i>īd-Ø-n-wīɾ</i>	—>	<i>īdnwīɾ</i>	'if he says'

4.21. Classification of verbal stems

In the Toda language the past tense and the present-future (as well as some other formations) are formed on a

special stem that may be called the 'secondary stem' (S_2 of Emeneau). This secondary stem historically corresponds to the past stem of Tamil-Malayalam and some other languages. The secondary stem is formed by adding one of the following suffixes to the verb base. 1. \emptyset 2. t 3. d and 4. y . To quote Emeneau (1967): "The great majority of Toda S_2 stems is represented by such contrasting sets as: $\dot{i}x-$, $\dot{i}xy-$ 'to slip, be slippery' $\dot{i}x-$, $\dot{i}x\emptyset-$ 'to separate oneself from others,' $\dot{i}xf-$, $\dot{i}xt-$ 'to make people separate, open (loop', bangle), $kuf-$, $kufy-$ 'to pound (clothes in washing), load (gun)', $uf-$, $uft-$ 'to shake off, empty (bag)', On the basis of these and many other items three S_2 morphs can be set up 1. $-y-$ 2. $-a-$ 3. $-t-$. Two verbs ending in $!$ have an S_2 suffix 4. $-d-$. This is in contrast with $-t-$ and $-y-$ after stems ending in $!$ " So all the Toda verbs are classified into four major classes.

1. y class
2. \emptyset class
3. t class
4. d class

It is also to be noted that verbs have to be classified on the basis of transitivity versus intransitivity. The verbs which are capable of taking object are called transitive and others are called intransitive. The transitive can be denoted either inherently (i.e. without any suffixes) or by the addition of some suffixes. The derived transitives are formed by the addition of suffixes to the intransitive verbs. So the inherent intransitive are divided into two sub-classes, namely.

1. M. B. Emeneau, 'The South Dravidian languages', Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol 87, No. 4, 374-76, 1967.

1. Intransitive (Intr.₁) which cannot be made into transitive by the addition of transitive suffix.

2. Intransitive (Intr.₂) which can be made into transitives by the addition of transitive suffix.

Intransitive (Intr.₂) are found to fall into three classes.

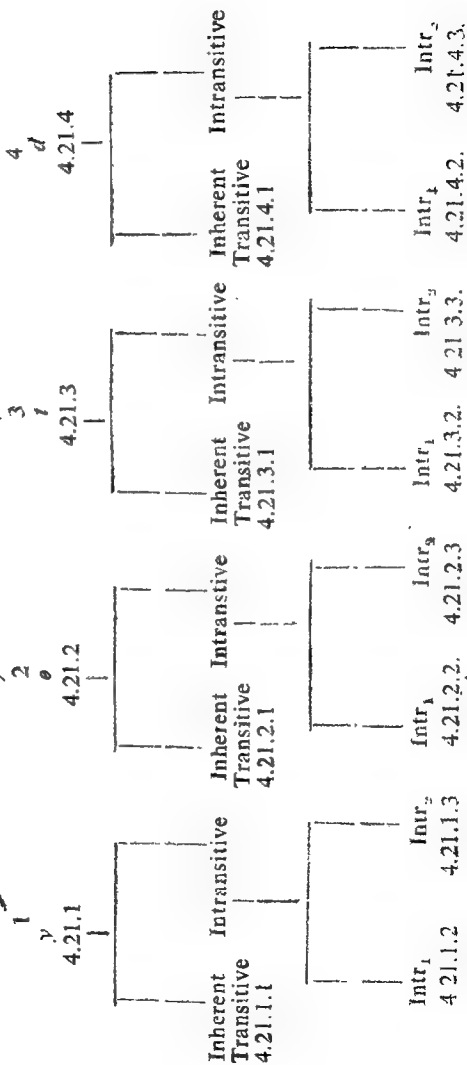
1. Intransitives which take transitive suffix *-t-*.

2. Intransitives which take transitive suffix *-c-*.

and 3. Intransitives which take transitive suffix *-f-*.

The classification on the basis of the secondary stem formative and the classification on the basis of transitive versus intransitive are cross classifications. However, they can be clubbed under one group. Four major classes which are already set up on the basis of secondary stem formative as a basic, the intransitive and transitive classification is incorporated within that. So each of the four major classes is sub divided into inherent transitive, intransitive, and Intransitive₁.

Verbs



*y class*4.21.1.1. *Inherent Transitives*

<i>õn</i>	'count'
<i>kaɾɪ</i>	'send'
<i>ũɾp</i>	'play (flute)'
<i>uɾ</i>	'agree'
<i>oɭ</i>	'pour'
<i>pĩn</i>	'weave'
<i>pɔ:t</i>	'spread' (grains)
<i>pɯ:t</i>	'tie'
<i>toɭ</i>	'push'
<i>wĩ:ʒ</i>	'drive (calf from udder)'
<i>paʒ</i>	'seize, touch'
<i>koɭ</i>	'build (house)'
<i>sɔp</i>	'suck'
<i>kõ:r</i>	'winnow'
<i>ki:c</i>	'comb'
<i>õʒt</i>	'say'
<i>ki:r</i>	'tear'
<i>kuɭ</i>	'knock, pound'
<i>nok</i>	'lick'
<i>nob</i>	'trust, believe'
<i>kum</i>	'pound (grain) with light stroke'
<i>eɾy</i>	'throw'
<i>tõ:ʒt</i>	'close (the <i>ti</i> dairy)'

<i>o:t</i>	‘shake violently’
<i>ud</i>	‘smear’
<i>tü:t</i>	‘wander’
<i>tĩ:k</i>	‘stop’
<i>kwĩok</i>	‘peck’
<i>nwĩ:t</i>	‘look’
<i>na:s</i>	‘play’
<i>kũ:p</i>	‘kill’
<i>wĩ:ø</i>	‘read’
<i>kĩd</i>	‘sprinkle’
<i>to:g</i>	‘support’
<i>mu:t</i>	‘smell’
<i>pĩt</i>	‘sow’
<i>asp</i>	‘clean’
<i>kuf</i>	‘pound (clothes in washing)’
<i>e:mo:t</i>	‘deceive’
<i>pĩnt</i>	‘ask’
<i>part</i>	‘pray’
<i>mũc</i>	‘cover’
<i>u:c</i>	‘throw away’
<i>koc</i>	‘bite’
<i>tĩ:k</i>	‘stop (man, animal)’
<i>te:t</i>	‘fold’
<i>pa:t</i>	‘marry (woman)’
<i>poðø</i>	‘enjoy’
<i>ušt</i>	‘take off (ring, bangle, shirt)’

kušt

‘build with stone’

4.21.1.3. *Intransitive₂*4.21.1.3.1. can be transitivized by adding *-t*.

<i>kālx</i>	‘be stirred up’
<i>omx</i>	‘be pressed down’
<i>ī:x</i>	‘descend’
<i>alx</i>	‘shake’
<i>tux</i>	‘hang’
<i>po:x</i>	‘flow down completely’
<i>o:x</i>	‘become’
<i>arx</i>	‘be subdued’
<i>nī:x</i>	‘crawl’
<i>tīrx</i>	‘turn’
<i>wlōx</i>	‘get ready’
<i>wīṇx</i>	‘wither’
<i>karx</i>	‘melt, dissolve’
<i>kuṛx</i>	‘be short’
<i>moṛx</i>	‘bend’
<i>mīsx</i>	‘move slightly vertically’
<i>usx</i>	‘move horizontally’
<i>meṣx</i>	‘(things) become soaked and softened’
<i>nōṛx</i>	‘become tall’
<i>u:x</i>	‘glide along’
<i>mu:x</i>	‘be destroyed’

<i>pīəx</i>	'be squeezed'
<i>twīəx</i>	'be at point of readiness'
<i>toəx</i>	'smash'
<i>mulx</i>	'be destroyed'
<i>twalx</i>	'be out of plumb'
<i>oɔg</i>	'be quite'
<i>wīɾg</i>	'be crushed'
<i>mɔɾg</i>	'become bent'
<i>wa:g</i>	'turn over'
<i>ɸɪrb</i>	'twist'
<i>o:d</i>	'dance'
<i>kutɾ</i>	'join'
<i>ni:ɾ</i>	'be stretched'
<i>o:ɾ</i>	'become dry'
<i>mo:ɾ</i>	'change'
<i>tō:ɾ</i>	'improve (in health, wealth)'
<i>u:ɾ</i>	'be filtered'
<i>po:ɾ</i>	'fly'
<i>twī:ɾ</i>	'be visible'

.21.1.3.2. can be transitivized by adding *-c-*.

<i>kak</i>	'vomit'
<i>o:d</i>	'dance'
<i>mu:x</i>	'destroy'
<i>o:r</i>	'(dispute) is settled'
<i>ɸi:r</i>	'settle (dispute)'

Class

4.21.2.1. *Inherent transitive*

<i>par</i>	'write'
<i>kar</i>	'milk'
<i>kīy</i>	'do'
<i>kar</i>	'steal'
<i>aṭ</i>	'measure'
<i>ter</i>	'open'
<i>pe:r</i>	'thatch'
<i>mar</i>	'forget'
<i>pūsoḍ</i>	'call'
<i>kof</i>	'be turned upside down'
<i>aḍ</i>	'dig'
<i>pḷḍ</i>	'fall'
<i>kar</i>	'steal'
<i>kar</i>	'churn'
<i>pīy</i>	'beat'
<i>kwīy</i>	'pluck'
<i>eṭy</i>	'throw, cut'
<i>pi:rfor</i>	'kiss'

4.21.2.3. *Intransitive₂*4.21.2.3.1. can be transitivized by adding *-t-*.

<i>ōḍ</i>	'rise'
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<i>naɾ</i>	‘walk’
<i>kaɖ</i>	‘cross’
<i>to:y</i>	‘be lowered’
<i>kary</i>	‘be singed’
<i>pīry</i>	‘become parted’
<i>mary</i>	‘fall’
<i>ti:y</i>	‘be singed’
<i>īry</i>	‘fall down’
<i>wīry</i>	‘(joints) crack’

4.21.2.3.2. can be transitivized by adding *-c-*.

<i>ko:y</i>	‘be hot’
<i>koɖy</i>	‘disappear’
<i>tīry</i>	‘twist’
<i>naɖ</i>	‘organise’
<i>toɳy</i>	‘cool, calm’
<i>pīxy</i>	‘become tight’
<i>pūry</i>	‘become full’
<i>pīry</i>	‘spring forth, (boil) breaks’
<i>tūɕy</i>	‘become clear’

† *Class*

4.21.3.1. *Inherent transitive*

<i>a:foɾ</i>	‘talk’
<i>uf</i>	‘shake up’

<i>pīṛ</i>	‘carry’
<i>twī:y</i>	‘wash (clothes)’
<i>kwīṛ</i>	‘give’
<i>uny</i>	‘think’
<i>ke:ṭ</i>	‘hear’
<i>wī:rīḍ</i>	‘listen’
<i>īḍ</i>	‘put, place’
<i>paḥ</i>	‘kick’
<i>tuṛ</i>	‘burn’
<i>swī:l</i>	‘be defeated’
<i>ofy</i>	‘calm’
<i>wīḍy</i>	‘save’
<i>ko:f</i>	‘watch’
<i>aṛf</i>	‘cut, reap’
<i>uṣf</i>	‘plough’
<i>kiṭy</i>	‘ladle out (food)’
<i>leṭ</i>	‘pay (fine, debt)’
<i>mu:neṭ</i>	‘like’
<i>oṛ</i>	‘cook’

4.21.3.3. *Intransitive,*

4.21.3.3 1. Can be transitivized by adding *-f-*

<i>ōḍ</i>	‘rise’
<i>kwāl</i>	‘become emaciated’
<i>twāḍ</i>	‘be polluted’
<i>aṛ</i>	‘shut’

<i>taɾ</i>	‘prevent’
<i>nen</i>	‘think’
<i>pax</i>	‘divide’
<i>kwaɾ</i>	‘cut’
<i>twa:n</i>	‘sweep’
<i>peɬ</i>	‘grow’
<i>waɾ</i>	‘break’
<i>kaɾ</i>	‘tighten’
<i>neɾ</i>	‘fill’

4.21.3.3.2. Can be transitivized by adding *-c-*

<i>kaɬ</i>	‘learn’
<i>twi:ɬ</i>	‘be defeated’
<i>mony</i>	‘for give’
<i>pĩɾ</i>	‘let go’
<i>tõd.xõɾ</i>	‘be tired’
<i>o:poɾ</i>	‘be caught’

d Class

4.21.4.1. *Inherent transitive*

<i>tĩn</i>	‘eat’
<i>uŋ</i>	‘drink’
<i>ĩn</i>	‘say’
<i>koɭ</i>	‘steal’
<i>pe:ɾf</i>	‘be born’
<i>kwĩɭ</i>	‘carry (corpse)’
<i>o:ɭ</i>	‘rule’

4.21.4.3. *Intransitive₂*4.21.4.3.1. Can be transitivized by adding *-t-*

<i>sō:r</i>	'lean against, arrive'
<i>u:l</i>	'roll'
<i>tu:l</i>	'roll up'
<i>ko:n</i>	'see'
<i>pī:l</i>	'tumble over'
<i>no:l</i>	'get wet'
<i>pu:l</i>	'wear around neck'
<i>kiskwīl</i>	'tickle'
<i>teškwīl</i>	'hug'
<i>nī:l</i>	'be stretched out'

4.21.4.3.2. Can be transitivized by adding *-c-*.

<i>nīl</i>	'stand'
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It is worth mentioning that in Toda there are certain verbs like the following which can be used both as transitive and intransitive.

Ex. <i>mory</i>	'fold (intr., tr.)'
<i>swīt</i>	'drop (of liquid) (intr., tr.)'
<i>wīṭy</i>	'hide (Intr. tr.)'
<i>toṭy</i>	'sprinkle (intr., tr.)'

4.22. Complex verb stems

$$V - \left[\begin{array}{c} V_{Aux_1} \\ \vdots \end{array} \right] - \left[\begin{array}{c} V_{Aux_2} \\ \vdots \end{array} \right]$$

The verbal stems containing simple verbs and the elements functioning as reflexive, progressive etc., are referred to as complex verb stems¹ and these additional elements are considered as auxiliary verbs. The complex verbs consist of a main verb $[V]$ and one $[V_{Aux_1}]$ or two $[V_{Aux_1} - V_{Aux_2}]$ auxiliary verbs. The auxiliary verbs are added to the verbal participle of the main verb. The auxiliary verbs *iθ-*, *nwī:ty*, *wīl-kīd*, *fiṭ* are added to the main verb or to the verbal participle of the main verb $[V]$. The sandhi behaviour of the auxiliary verbs are the same as when they occur as main verbs.

4 22.1. Perfective

S₂- Past tense -V.P-

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -iθ- \\ \sim -iθ- \end{array} \right\}$$

4 22 1.1. $\sim -iθ-$

Ex. *pod-s-θ-iθ-s-pin-i* (2 42,49,41)

—> *pozispini* 'I had come'

nwī:ty-s-θ-iθ-s-pin-i (2.26,47,49,41)

—> *nwī:ṣispini* 'I had seen'

1 W. Bright and J. Lindenfeld, "Complex verb forms in Colloquial Tamil", *Studies in Indian Linguistics*, p. 30.

iṭḍ-s-θ-iə-s-pin-i (2.44,49,41)

—> *iṭṭispini* 'I had eaten'

uḍ-s-θ-iə-s-pin-i (2.43,49,41)

—> *uṭṭispini* 'I had drunken'

kaṛə-s-θ-iə-s-pin-i (2.41)

—> *kaṛṣispini* 'I had churned'

kaṛə-s-θ-iə-s-pin-i (2.41)

—> *kaṛṣispini* 'I had milked'

kwīṭt-s-θ-iə-s-pin-i (2.41)

—> *kwīṭṣispini* 'I had given (to him)'

4.22.2. Trial

S₂— Past tense -VP—'

{ -*nwī:ty-* }

~ -*nwī:ty*

4.22.2.1. ~-*nwī:ty-*

Ex. *pinty-s-θ-nwī:ty-s-pin-i* (2.25,45,41,26,47,49)

—> *pinšnwī:spini* 'I tried to ask him'

a:foṭ-s-θ-nwī:ty-s-pin-i (2.47,49,26,47,49)

—> *a:foṣnwī:spini* 'I tried to talk with him'

iṭḍ-s-θ-nwī:ty-s-pin-i (2.44,49,26,47,49)

—> *iṭṭnwī:spini* 'I tried to eat (meal)'

(*poṇm*) *kwīṭt-s-θ-nwī:ty-s-pin-i* (2.41,26,47,49)

—> *kwīṭṣnwī:spini* 'I tried to give (money)'

- (a:s) *kīs-s-Ø-nwī:ty-s-pin-i* (2.18,26,47,49)
 —> *kīs nwī:špini* 'I tried to build (house)'
uḍ-s-Ø-nwī:ty-s-pin-i (2.48,49,26,47,49)
 —> *uḇnwī:špini* 'I tried to drink (arrack)'

4.22.3. *Durative*

S₂- Past tense -VP-

{ -wīl- }

~ -wīl-

4.22.3.1. ~ -wīl-

- Ex. (si:t) *parə-s-Ø-wīl-Ø-pin-i* (2.41)
 —> *parswīlpini* 'I am writing (letter)'
 (īr) *karə-s-Ø-wīl-Ø-pin-i* (2.41)
 —> *karšwīlpini* 'I am milking (buffalo)'
 (twī:r) *tīḍ-s-Ø-wīl-Ø-pin-i* (2.44,49)
 —> *tīḇwīlpini* 'I am eating (meals)'
 (so:roy) *uḍ-s-Ø-wīl-Ø-pin-i* (2.48,49)
 —> *uḇwīlpini* 'I am drinking (arrack)'
 (poṇm) *kwīrt-s-Ø-wīl-Ø-pin-i* (2.41)
kwīršwīlpini 'I am giving
 (money to him)'

4.22.4. *Obligatory*

S₂-

{ -to- }

~ -to-

4.22.4.1. ~ -to-

- Ex. *tīd-Ø-to-īy-i* (2.53) —> *tīd̥tīyi*
 'he has to eat'
- uḍ-Ø-to-īy-ī* (2.53) —> *uḍtīyi*
 'he has to drink'
- pi:-Ø-to-īy-i* (2.53) —> *pi:tīyi*
 'he has to go'
- pīṭ-Ø-to-īy-i* (2.53) —> *pīṭtīyi*
 'they have to carry'
- pod-Ø-to-īy-i* (2.53) —> *podtīyi*
 'he has to come'
- wīḍ-Ø-to-īy-i* (2.53) —> *wīḍtīyi*
 'he has to run'
- karə-Ø-to-īy-i* (2.53) —> *karətīyi*
 'he has to milk'
- naṛə-Ø-to-īy-i* (2.53) *naṛətīyi*
 'he has to walk'
- pi:-Ø-to-pin-i* —> *pi:topini*
 'I have to go'
- pi:-Ø-to-pum-i* —> *pi:topumi*
 'we have to go'
- pi:-Ø-to-p-i* —> *pi:topi*
 'you have to go (sg.)'
- pi:-Ø-to-š-i* —> *pi:toši*
 'you have to go (pl.)'
- kīs-Ø-to-pin-i* —> *kīstopini*
 'I have to do'

<i>kīs-Ø-to-pum-i</i>	—>	<i>kīstopumi</i> 'we have to do'
<i>kīs-Ø-to-p-i</i>	—>	<i>kīstopi</i> 'you have to do'
<i>kāre-Ø-to-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>karētopini</i> 'I have to milk'
<i>kāre-Ø-to-pum-i</i>	—>	<i>karētopumi</i> 'we have to milk'
<i>kāre-Ø-to-p-i</i>	—>	<i>karētopi</i> 'you have to milk (sg.)'
<i>kāre-Ø-to-š-i</i>	—>	<i>karētoši</i> 'you have to milk (pl.)'
<i>naře-Ø-to-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>nařetopini</i> 'I have to walk'
<i>naře-Ø-to-pum-i</i>	—>	<i>nařetopumi</i> 'we have to walk'
<i>naře-Ø-to-p-i</i>	—>	<i>nařetopi</i> 'you have to walk'

4.22.5. *Potential*S₂

{ -kīd- }
~ -kīd-

4.22.5.1. ~ -kīd-

Ex. <i>pod-kīd-Ø-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>podkīdpini</i> 'I can come'
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<i>uḍ-kīḍ-Ø-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>uḍkīḍpini</i> 'I can drink'
<i>wīḍ-kīḍ-Ø-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>wīḍkīḍpini</i> 'I can run'
<i>waṛt-kīḍ-Ø-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>waṛtkīḍpini</i> 'I can break'
<i>pīṭ-kīḍ-Ø-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>pīṭkīḍpini</i> 'I can carry'
<i>naṛθ-kīḍ-Ø-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>naṛθkīḍpini</i> 'I can walk'
<i>pi:-kīḍ-Ø-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>pi:kīḍpini</i> 'I can go'
<i>kaṛθ-kīḍ-Ø-pin-i</i>	—>	<i>kaṛθkīḍpini</i> 'I can churn'

4.22.6. Possibility

S₂- Tense -VP-Aux- Tense-

{ -kin- }

~kin-

4. 22.6.1. ~kin-

Ex. *pod-s-Ø-iθ-s-kin-īy-i* (2.42,49,41)
 —> *poziskinīyi* 'he/she/it/they
 might have come'

(so:roy) *uḍ-s-Ø-iθ-s-kin-īy-i* (2 48,49,41)
 —> *uḍiskinīyi* 'he/she/they
 might have eaten (arrack)'

(*po:jo:rtk*) *pi:-s-ø-iø-s-kin-īy-i* (2.45,41)

—> *pi:šiskinīyi* 'he might have gone
(to Ootacamund)

tīḍ-s-ø-iø-s-kin-īyi (2.44,49,41)

—> *tīḍiskinīyi* 'he/she/it
might have eaten'

kīs-s-ø-iø-s-kin-īy-i (2.18,41)

—> *kīsiskinīyi* 'he/they
might have done'

4.22.7. Aspectual

S₂-

{ -fīṭ- }

~ -fīṭ-

4.22.7.1. ~ -fīṭ-

- Ex. *kīs-fīṭ-ø-pin-i* —> *kīsfīṭpini*
'I shall certainly do'
- pi:fīṭ-ø-pin-i* —> *pi:fīṭpini*
'I shall certainly go'
- pi:fīṭ-ø-t-i* —> *pi:fīṭti*
'he shall certainly go'
- pod-fīṭ-ø-pin-i* —> *podfīṭpini*
'I shall certainly come'
- pinty-fīṭ-ø-pin-i* (2.26) —> *pintfīṭpini*
'I shall certainly ask'
- pod-fīṭ-ø-t-i* —> *podfīṭti*
'he shall certainly come'

- öšty-fīt-θ-pin-i* (2.26) —> *öštʃītʃini*
 'I shall certainly say'
- öšty-fīt-t-i* (2.26) —> *öštʃītʃi*
 'he shall certainly say'
- tīd-fīt-θ-pin-i* —> *tīdʃītʃini*
 'I shall certainly eat'
- te:d-fīt-θ-pin-i* —> *te:dʃītʃin*
 'I shall certainly do'
- pod-fīt-s-pin-i* (2.47,49) —> *podʃītʃini*
 'I had come'
- kīs-fīt-s-pin-i* (2.47,49) —> *kīsʃītʃin*
 'I had done'
- wī:d-fīt-s-pin-i* (2.47,49) —> *wī:dʃītʃini*
 'I had run'
- koḍ-fīt-s-pin-i* (2.47,49) —> *koḍʃītʃini*
 'I had seen'
- kaṛt-fīt-s-pin-i* (2.47,49) —> *kaṛtʃītʃini*
 'I had sent'
- kaṭ-fīt-s-pin-i* (2.47,49) —> *kaṭʃītʃini*
 'I had learnt'

Appellative Verbs

5.0. Appellative verbs are those which cannot take tense suffixes but can take or are capable of taking other verbal suffixes like relative participle, personal suffixes etc¹. Appellative verbs behave like verbs syntactically.

5.1. Stems

List of appellative bases is given below.

<i>etuḍ-</i>	'big'
<i>naḷ-</i>	'good'
<i>pue-</i>	'new'

1 See S. Agesthalingom and S. V. Shanmugam, *The Language of Tamil Inscriptions (1250-1350 A. D.)*. Anna-malai Universtiy, 1970.

<i>per-</i>	'great'
<i>pa:fn-</i>	'old'
<i>kīrwīd-</i>	'small'
<i>wīl-</i>	'good'
<i>wīd-</i>	'is / are'
<i>o:re-</i>	'not'

5.2. Relative participle

{ *-foy-* }

∞ *-foy* ∞ ∅

5.2.1. ∞-*foy* occurs after the base *wīd-*

Ex. *wīdfoy oṭ* 'person who was there'

5.2.2. ∞ ∅ occurs elsewhere

o:re-∅-o:ṭ —> *o:re o:ṭ* 'person who is not there'

etu:d-∅-o:ṭ —> *etu:d o:ṭ* 'person who is great'

5.3. Suffixes

5.3.1. Quality nominalizer

St—

{ *-my* }

~ *-my*

~ *-my* occurs with the following bases *naṭ-*, *puə-* and *per-*.

Ex. <i>naṭ-my</i> (2.10)	—>	<i>nanmy</i>	'goodness'
<i>puə-my</i>	—>	<i>puəmy</i>	'newness'
<i>per-my</i>	—>	<i>permy</i>	'greatness'

§.3.2. *Impersonal suffix*

This is common to all person and gender-number.

St-

{ -y }

~ -y

~ -y occurs after the bases *wīd-*, *o:re-*, and *wīl-*.

Ex. <i>wīd-y</i>	—>	<i>wīdy</i>	'is/are'
<i>o:re-y</i>	—>	<i>o:rey</i>	'not'
<i>wīl-y</i>	—>	<i>wīly</i>	'it is good'
<i>ae ay a:g o:rey</i>			'he is not in the house'
<i>ay īr al o:rey</i>			'that buffalo is not there'
<i>ay o:t iy a:g wīdy</i>			'that man is in the house'
<i>ay īr il wīdy</i>			'that buffalo is here'
<i>ae upum wīly</i>			'he is very good'
<i>ae podfoy wīly</i>			'it is good that he came'
<i>iy ku:x eaqa:t ayku:x wīly</i>			'that girl is good than this girl'
<i>iy īr eaqa:t ay īr wīly</i>			'that buffalo is good than this buffalo'

§4. *Gender-number markers*§4.1. *Masculine*

{ o:t }

~ -o:t

5.4.1.1. $\sim -o:t$

Ex. <i>wi:yo:t</i>	‘one who is good’
<i>etu:do:t</i>	‘one who is great’

5.4.2. *Neuter*

{ *iyi* }

$\sim -iyi$

5.4.2.1. $\sim -iyi$

Ex. <i>etu:dīyi</i>	‘one which is good’
<i>kīṛwīdīyi</i>	‘one which is small’

5.5. Stem alternants

5.5.1. { *wiḷ-* }

$\infty wiḷ-$ $\infty wiḷt-$

5.5.1.1. $\infty wiḷt-$ occurs before the adverbial *-kīs*.

Ex. <i>wiḷt-kīs</i>	\rightarrow	<i>wiḷtkīs</i>	‘being good’
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5.5.1.2. $\infty wiḷ-$ occurs elsewhere.

Ex. <i>wiḷ-y</i>	\rightarrow	<i>wiḷy</i>	‘good’
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5.5.2. { *pue-* }

$\infty pne-$ $\infty puen-$

5.5.2.1. ∞pne occurs before *o:t*.

Ex. <i>pne o:t</i>	‘guest or new person’
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5.5.2.2. ∞pne occurs elsewhere.

Ex. <i>pne pu:txuṭy</i>	‘new cloak’
<i>pne ogody</i>	‘new shop’

6

Clitics

6.0. Clitics are those particles which are bound. They are of three types.

- [i] Pro-clitics
- [ii] Post-clitics and
- [iii] En-clitics

6.1. Pro-clitics

Pro-clitics are those which occur before another clitic or noun. They are of two types.

- [i] Demonstratives
- [ii] Interrogatives

6.2. Post-clitics

Post-clitics are those which occur after pro-clitics.

6.3. En-clitics

Enclitics are those which occur after pro-clitics, post-clitics, noun or verb. They are divided into five types.

1. Encl_1 are those which occur after noun.
2. Encl_2 are those which occur after verb.
3. Encl_3 are those which occur after noun and verb.
4. Encl_4 are those which occur after noun.
5. Encl_5 are those which occur after post-clitics.

6.1. Pro-clitics

6.1.1. *Distant demonstrative*

{ a- }

$\infty a:- \quad \infty a-$

6.1.1.1. $\infty a:-$ occurs before post-clitic *-nk*.

Ex. $a:-nk$ 'there'

6.1.1.2. $\infty a-$ occurs elsewhere.

Ex. $a-l$	'there'
$a-l$	'that-side'
$a-tk$	'that-much'
$a-e$	'that-he / she / it'
$a-y$	'that'
$a-tfok$	'that-time'
$a-t$	'that-many'

6.1.2. *Proximate demonstrative*

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} i- \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\infty i- \sim i:- \sim -\bar{i}-$$
6.1.2.1. $\infty i:$ occurs before post-clitic *-nk*.Ex. *i:-nk* 'here'6.1.2.2. $\sim \bar{i}-$ occurs before *-t*.Ex. *\bar{i}-tk* 'this-much'*\bar{i}-tfok* 'this-time (now)'*\bar{i}-t* 'this-many'6.1.2.3. $\sim i-$ occurs elsewhere.Ex. *i-l* 'here'*i-t* 'this-side'*i-ø* 'this-he/she/it'*i-y* 'this'6.1.3. *Interrogative*

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} e- \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\infty o: \sim e- \sim e:-$$
6.1.3.1. $\infty o:-$ occurs before non-neuter suffix *-ry*.Ex. *o:-ry* 'who'6.1.3.2. $\sim e-$ occurs before stop.Ex. *e-gʷs* 'how'*e-tfok* 'what-time'

<i>e-tk</i>	‘how much’
<i>e-d</i>	‘what day’
<i>e-t</i>	‘which side’
<i>e-t</i>	‘how many’

6.1.3.3. $\sim e:-$ occurs elsewhere.

Ex. <i>e:-e</i>	‘which’
<i>e:-l</i>	‘where’
<i>e:-y</i>	‘which’
<i>e:-nk</i>	‘where (place)’

6.2. Post-clitics

6.2.1. *Place clitics*

{ *-nk* }

$\sim -nk \quad \sim -l$

Both are in freevariation

6.2.1.1. $\sim -nk$

Ex. <i>i:-nk</i>	‘here’
<i>a:-nk</i>	‘there’
<i>e:-nk</i>	‘where’

6.2.1.2. $\sim -l$

Ex. <i>a-l</i>	‘there’
<i>i-l</i>	‘here’
<i>e:-l</i>	‘where’

6.2.2. *Clitic of side*

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -t \\ \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\sim -t$$
6.2.2.1. $\sim -t$

Ex. $a-t$	'that-side'
$i-t$	'this-side'
$e-t$	'which-side'

6.2.3. *Clitic of time (day)*

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -d \\ \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\sim -d$$
6.2.3.1. $\sim -d$

Ex. $a-d$	'that-day'
$i-d$	'this-day or to-day'
$e-d$	'which day'

6.2.4. *Clitic of time (general)*

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -tfok \\ \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\sim -tfok$$
6.2.4.1. $\sim -tfok$

Ex. $i-tfok$	'this-time (now)'
$a-tfok$	'that-time'
$e-tfok$	'when'

6.2.5. *Clitic of quantity (count)*

$$\{ \text{ } -t \text{ } \}$$

$$\sim -t$$
6.2.5.1. $\sim -t$

Ex. $a-t$	'that-many'
$\bar{i}-t$	'this-many'
$e-t$	'how-many'

6.2.6. *Clitic of quantity (mass)*

$$\{ \text{ } -tk \text{ } \}$$

$$\sim -tk$$
6.2.6.1. $\sim -tk$

Ex. $a-tk$	'that-much'
$\bar{i}-tk$	'this-much'
$e-tk$	'how-much'

6.2.7. *Clitic of manner*

$$\{ \text{ } -g\bar{i}s \text{ } \}$$

$$\sim -g\bar{i}s$$
6.2.7.1. $\sim -g\bar{i}s$

Ex. $\bar{i}-g\bar{i}s$	'this-manner'
$a-g\bar{i}s$	'that-manner'
$e-g\bar{i}s$	'what-manner'

6.2.8. *Clitic of adjective*

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -y \\ \sim -y \end{array} \right\}$$

6.2.8.1. $\sim -y$

Ex. $a-y$	'that (adj.)'
$i-y$	'this (adj.)'
$e:-y$	'which (adj.)'
$ay \text{ } \bar{i}r$	'that-buffalo'
$iy \text{ } \bar{i}r$	'this-buffalo'
$e:y \text{ } \bar{i}r$	'which buffalo'
$ay \text{ } a:s$	'that-house'
$iy \text{ } a:s$	'this-house'
$\bar{e}:y \text{ } a:s$	'which-house'

6.2.9. *Clitic of personal ending*

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -\emptyset \\ \sim -\emptyset \end{array} \right\}$$

6.2.9.1. $\sim -\emptyset$

Ex. $i-\emptyset$	'this-he / she / it'
$a-\emptyset$	'that-he / she / it'
$e:-\emptyset$	'which'

6.3. **En-clitics**6.3.1. *Encl₁*

6.3.1.1. *Even*

$$\{ -m \}$$

$$\sim -m$$
6.3.1.1.1. $\sim -m$ occurs with noun.

Ex. <i>peṭ.yxen-m</i>	'even Pelikan'
<i>sinmury-m</i>	'even Sinmury'
<i>o:n-m</i>	'even I'
<i>aə-m</i>	'even he'

6.3.1.2. *Completeness*

$$\{ -m \}$$

$$\sim -m$$
6.3.1.2.1. $\sim m$

Ex. <i>pot-m</i>	'ten (all)'
<i>īfoə-m</i>	'twenty (all)'
<i>pot o:ṭ-m</i>	'all the ten persons'
<i>īfoə īr-m</i>	'all the twenty buffaloes'
<i>iy īr īfoə-m mo:rkin</i>	'I sell all the twenty buffaloes'

6.3.1.3. *Clitic of emphasis*

$$\{ -e: \}$$

$$\sim -e:$$

6.3.1.3.1. $\sim -e:$

Ex. $o:n-e:$	'I (with emphasis)'
$ae-e:$	'he (with emphasis)'
$ro:jn-e:$	'king (with emphasis)'

6.3.1.4. *Clitic of intense emphasis*

$$\{ -to:n \}$$

$$\sim -to:n$$
6.3.1.4.1. $\sim -to:n$

Ex. $mutyxen-to:n$	'It is Mutykan'
$ae-to:n$	'it is he (with emphasis)'
$kogfo\dot{t}y\ \dot{t}r-to:n$	'it is that buffalo'

6.3.1.5. *Clitic of comparison*

$$\{ -ea\dot{s}a:r \}$$

$$\sim -ea\dot{s}a:r$$
6.3.1.5.1. $\sim -ea\dot{s}a:r$ occurs after the noun.

Ex. $ay\ o:\dot{t}\ \dot{ea\dot{s}a:r}$	'than that man'
$ay\ \dot{t}r\ \dot{ea\dot{s}a:r}$	'than that buffalo'
$ay\ o:\dot{t}\ \dot{ea\dot{s}a:r}\ \dot{y}\ o:\dot{t}\ w\dot{i}\dot{t}y\ o:\dot{t}\ \dot{t}yi$	'This man is better than that man'

6.3.1.6 *Clitic of choice*

$$\{ o: \dots o: \}$$

$$\sim o: \dots o:$$

6.3.1.6.1. ~ *o:* *o:* occurs after the nouns.

Ex. *o:n-o: aθ-o:* 'either I or he'

6.3.1.7. *About*

{ *-paty* }

~ *-paty*

6.3.1.7.1. ~ *-paty* occurs after the noun.

Ex. <i>mutna:ɟ paty</i>	'about Mutnas'
<i>sinmury paty</i>	'about Sinmury'
<i>ku:x paty</i>	'about girl' -
<i>mox paty</i>	'about boy'
<i>an paty a:foɾoɽi</i>	'do not talk about him'
<i>en paty a:foɾoɽi</i>	'do not talk about me'

6.3.1.8. *Clitic of possibility*

{ *-em* }

~ *-em*

6.3.1.8. ~ *-em* occurs after the noun.

Ex. <i>ni:em</i>	'atleast you'
<i>makolkem</i>	'atleast to-morrow'

6.3.1.9. *Clitic of restriction*

{ *-mo:tɪrm* }

~ *-mo:tɪrm* ~ *maɪm*

Both are in freevariation.

6.3.1.9.1. ~ -mo:tɪrm

Ex. o:n mo:tɪrm	'I alone'
em mo:tɪrm	'we alone'
to:j mo:tɪrm	'Taj alone'
o:n mo:tɪrm pi:pini	'I go alone'
ae mo:tɪrm endīyi	'It alone is mine'

6.3.1.9.2. ~ -maɪm

Ex. ae maɪm	'he alone'
ae maɪm wɪɪy o:tɪyi	'he alone is a good person'

6.3.2. Encl₂

6.3.2.1. Clitic of concession of fact

{ -um }

~ -um

6.3.2.1.1. ~ -um

Ex. pod-n-um	→ podnum	'even if he comes'
kɪs-n-um	→ kɪsnum	'even if he does'
pono:y podnum swɪ:ɪy ti:rɪyi		'even if Ponay comes, matter is not going to settle'

6.3.3. Encl₃

6.3.3.1. Conjunctive

{ -m -m }

~ -m -m

6.3.3.1.1. ~ -m -m

Ex. <i>īr-m koṛ-m</i>	'buffalo and calf'
<i>ni:r-m po:s-m</i>	'water and milk'
<i>ae-m o:n-m</i>	'he and I'

6.3.3.2. Interrogative

{ -a: }

~ -a:

6.3.3.2.1. ~ -a: occurs after noun and verb.

Ex. <i>pi:tro:jn-a:</i>	'is Peterrajan?'
<i>mutna:s-a:</i>	'is Mutnas?'
<i>paškin-a:</i>	'shall I come?'
<i>wīḍ-a:</i>	'is it there?'
<i>taškin-a:</i>	'shall I give?'
<i>(īr) paṭkin-a:</i>	'shall I catch (buffalo)?'

6.3.4. Encl_a

6.3.4.1. Ordinal

{ -a:n }

∞ -a:n, ∞ -a:fīθ

6.3.4.1.1. ∞ a:n occurs before *te:ti* 'day' alone.

Ex. <i>e:ḍ-a:n te:ti</i>	'second day'
<i>mu:ḍ-a:n te:ti</i>	'third day'
<i>no:ng-a:n te:ti</i>	'fourth day'
<i>ūj-a:n te:ti</i>	'fifth day'

6.3.4.1.2. ∞ -a:fīθ occurs elsewhere.

- Ex. e:d-a:fīθ mox 'second son'
 mu:d-a:fīθ mox 'third son'
 no:ng-a:fīθ ku:x 'fourth daughter'
 üj-a:fīθ ku:x 'fifth daughter'

6.3.5. *Encl₃*

6.3.5.1. *Universal clitic*

{ -m }
 ~ -m

6.3.5.1.1. ~ -m

- Ex. e:nk-m 'every where'
 e-gīs-m 'at any rate'

6.3.5.2. *Indefinite clitic*

{ -isky }
 ~ -isky

6.3.5.2.1. ~ -isky

- Ex. e-gīs-isky → egīsisky 'somehow or other'

7

Particles

7.0. Classification

Particles are those which cannot take either case or tense suffixes but they can occur independently or with noun or verb in a sentence. The particles are capable of taking clitics.

7.1. Free particles

Free particles are further classified into two types viz

1. Those particles which can modify a verb and
2. Those particles which can qualify a noun

7.1.1. Verb modifiers

- 7.1.1.1. { *īnmīl* } 'hereafter'
 ~ *īnmīl*
 ~ *īnmīl*

- Ex. *ĩnmĩl podoṭi* 'you should not come hereafter'
ĩnmĩl kwĩlĩyi 'don't want hereafter'

- 7.1.1.2. { *ĩnm* } 'still'
 ~ *ĩnm*
 ~ *ĩnm*

- Ex. *ĩnm pe:kĩyi* 'still is necessary'

- 7.1.1.3. { *maṛč* } 'again'
 ~ *maṛč* ~ *tĩrm*

Both are in free variation

- Ex. *aə maṛč pi:či* 'he went again'
aə tĩrm pi:či 'he went again'
o:n maṛč pozpini 'I came again'
o:n tĩrm pozpini 'I came again'

- 7.1.1.4. { *mely* } 'slowly'
 ~ *mely*
 ~ *mely*

- Ex. *mely pĩ:x* 'go slowly'
ak kĩrwĩḍ mely podti
 'That child comes slowly.'

- 7.1.1.5. { *sary* } 'alright/yes'
 ~ *sary*

~ *sary*

- Ex. *sary ḍšt* 'alright, tell'

7.1.1.6. { *pokīn* } 'without any purpose'

~ *pokīn*

~ *pokīn*

Ex. *pokīn pozpini* '(I) came without any purpose'

7.1.1.7. { *tanyk* } 'alone'

~ *tanyk*

~ *tanyk*

Ex. *tanyk pi:ti* '(he) goes alone'

7.1.1.8. { *pern* } 'speedily'

~ *pern*

~ *pern*

Ex. *pern pī:x* 'go speedily'

7.1.1.9. { *ixə* } 'away'

~ *ixə*

~ *ixə*

Ex. *ixə nīl* 'stand away'

7.1.2. Noun qualifiers

7.1.2.1. { *īnwīd* } 'another'

~ *īnwīd*

~ *īnwīd*

Ex. *ank īnwīd poŋy wīdy* 'he has another work'

7.1.2.2. { *upum* } 'much/more'

~ *upum*

~ *upum*

Ex. *upum o:t* 'more persons'

upum ĩr 'more buffaloes'

7.1.2.3. { *ala:k* } 'lonely'

~ *ala:k*

~ *ala:k*

Ex. *ala:k a:g* 'lonely house'

ala:k me:n 'lonely tree'

7.1.2.4. { *ity* } 'little bit'

∞ *ity* ∞ *siṭyk*

7.1.2.4.1. ∞ *ity* occurs before noun *pax* 'tobacco' only.

Ex. *ity pax* 'little bit tobacco'

7.1.2.4.2. ∞ *siṭyk* occurs before *twī:r*, *peṇ* etc.

Ex. *siṭyk twī:r* 'little bit food'

siṭyk peṇ 'little bit butter'

7.1.2.5. { *melyš* } 'soft'

~ *melyš*

~ *melyš*

Ex. *melyš torp* 'soft dhoti'

melyš paṛ 'soft cloth'

7.2. Particles which occur after a noun or verb and also as a free form.

7.2.1. Particles which occur after a noun.

7.2.1.1. { *mu:lim* } 'through'

~ *mu:lim* ~ *ne:ɽa:ɽ*

Both are in freevariation.

Ex. *an mu:lim* 'through him'
an ne:ɽa:ɽ 'through him'
mutna:s mu:lim 'through Mutnas'
mutna:s ne:ɽa:ɽ 'through Mutnas'

7.2.1.2. { *wīde:d* } 'little bit'

~ *wīde:d*

~ *wīde:d*

Ex. *po:s wīde:d* 'little bit milk'
ašky wīde:d 'little bit rice'

7.2.1.3. { *muda:l* } 'before'

∞ *muda:l* ∞ *muda:lk*

7.2.1.3.1. ∞ *muda:lk* occurs after *en*-

Ex. *en muda:lk* 'before me'

7.2.1.3.2. ∞ *muda:l* occurs elsewhere.

Ex. *enk muda:l* 'before me'

7.2.2. Particles which occur after noun and relative participle.

7.2.2.1. { *mo:tiry* } 'similar'

~ *mo:tiry*

~ *mo:tiry*

Ex. *īr mo:tiry* 'like buffalo'

tonm mo:tiry 'like cattle'

me:n mo:tiry 'like tree'

öštyfoy mo:tiry (2.26) —> *öštfoy mo:tiry*
'in the same way as said'

pintyfoy mo:tiry (2.26) —> *pintfoy mo:tiry*
'in the same way as (one) asked'

7.2.2.2. { *pīn* } 'after / afterwards'

~ *püda:l*, ~ *pīn*

Both are in freevariation.

Ex. *aek püda:l* 'after that'

aek pīn 'after that'

podfoy pīn 'after coming'

7.2.3. Particles which occur after or before noun and also as free forms. Free form implies the existence of some noun in the deep level.

7.2.3.1. { *kī:l* } 'below'

∞ *kī:l*— ∞ *kī:*

7.2.3.1.1. ∞ *kī:* occurs as an attribute to a noun.

Ex. *kī: fary* 'lower line'

kī: tīn 'lower platform'

ki: kwīter 'lower floor where ladies sitting'

ki: te:s 'plains'

7.2.3.1.2. ∞ *ki:l* occurs elsewhere.

Ex. *aək ki:l* 'below that'

ki:l 'below'

7.2.3.2. { *me:l* } 'above'

∞ *me:l-* ∞ *me:-*

7.2.3.2.1. ∞ *me:-* occurs as an attribute to a noun.

Ex. *me: po:y* 'upper mouth'

me: tal 'upper portion of waist'

me: kut 'upper portion of sarees'

me: kwax 'end of upper line'

me: po:lgoŋ 'upper pole'

7.2.3.2.2. ∞ *me:l* occurs elsewhere.

Ex. *tīŋ me:l* 'on the hill'

aək me:l 'above that'

me:l 'above'

7.2.3.3. { *uŋ* } 'insids'

∞ *uŋ*, ∞ *uŋg*

7.2.3.3.1. ∞ *uŋ* occurs as an attribute to a noun.

Ex. *uŋ kwīs* 'inner room'

7.2.3.3.2. ∞ *uṭg* occurs elsewhere.

Ex. <i>a:s uṭg</i>	‘inside the house’
<i>to:w uṭg</i>	‘inside the blanket’
<i>poṭy uṭg</i>	‘inside the dairy’
<i>uṭg</i>	‘inside’

7.2.3.4. { *pīrmun* } ‘outside’

∞ *pīrmun* ∞ *pīrmutk*

7.2.3.4.1. ∞ *pīrmun* occurs as an attribute to a noun.

Ex. <i>pīrmun kwīṣ</i>	‘outer room’
------------------------	--------------

7.2.3.4.2. ∞ *pīrmutk* occurs elsewhere.

Ex. <i>a:s pīrmutk</i>	‘outside the house’
<i>pīrmutk</i>	‘outside’

7.2.3.5. { *noṛf* } ‘centre’

∞ *noṛ-* ∞ *noṛf*

7.2.3.5.1. ∞ *noṛ* occurs as an attribute to a noun.

Ex. <i>noṛ ja:m</i>	‘midnight’
<i>noṛ a:s</i>	‘middle house’
<i>noṛ poxo</i>	‘midday (exactly 12 o’ clock)’
<i>noṛ kwīṣ</i>	‘middle room (of dairy)’

7.2.3.5.2. ∞ *norf* occurs elsewhere.

Ex. *kīrwīd norf* 'in the middle of child'
norf 'centre / middle'

7.2.3.6. { *mutyk* } 'under'

~ *mutyk*

~ *mutyk*

Ex. *an mutyk* 'under that'

7.2.4. Particle which occur after verb.

{ *a:ɾm* } 'until'

~ *a:ɾm*

7.2.4.1. ~ *a:ɾm*

Ex. *paša:ɾm* 'till (some one) comes'

Echo Words

Echo words are frequent in the language families of India. The following Dravidian languages viz Tamil, Toda, Kannada, Kota, Kodagu, Telugu, Kuvi and Kolami have more prominency in having echo words. Toda language is particularly rich in the formation of this kind.

Echo words are usually formed by changing the initial syllable into *ki* or *ki:*. *Ki* occurs if the original word contains short vowel in the first syllable whereas *ki:* occurs if it contains a long vowel in the first syllable. Echo words have no lexical meaning at all.

[C] \check{V} \rightarrow *ki-*

[C] \bar{V} \rightarrow *ki:-*

Ex. <i>a:s ki:s</i>	'house and the like'
<i>par kir</i>	'things and the like'
<i>poŕy kiŕy</i>	'temple and the like'
<i>kor kir</i>	'calf and the like'
<i>mađ kid</i>	'head and the like'
<i>pu:txuŕy ki:txuŕy</i>	'cloak and the like'
<i>po:s ki:s</i>	'milk and the like'
<i>nīy kīy</i>	'ghee and the like'
<i>moj kij</i>	'butter milk and the like'
<i>mod kid</i>	'churning rod and the like'
<i>pu:f ki:f</i>	'flower and the like'
<i>tīt kīt</i>	'fire and the like'
<i>potm kitm</i>	'grain and the like'
<i>kapoty kipoty</i>	'jaggery and the like'
<i>ašky kišky</i>	'rice and the like'
<i>up kip</i>	'salt and the like'
<i>pölk kilk</i>	'lamp and the like'
<i>tojmox kijmox</i>	'Toda woman and the like'
<i>mošt kišt</i>	'axe and the like'
<i>me:n ki:n</i>	'tree and the like'
<i>pīn kīn</i>	'vessel and the like'
<i>po:dč ki:dč</i>	'adze and the like'
<i>mox kix</i>	'boy and the like'
<i>moč kič</i>	'cot and the like'

Syntax

9.0. The syntactic component consists of two kinds of rules, constituent structure rules (Phrase structure rules) and transformation rules. The constituent structure rules specify the grammatical categories and their relation to each other in the deep structure of the sentences of a language. The transformational rules are responsible for the surface structure which are derived from the deep structure. Transformational rules operate on constituent structure.

9.1. Constituent structure rules

$$1. S \rightarrow NP + PP$$

A sentence consists of an *NP* which stands for a noun, a noun phrase or a noun clause and *PP* which stands for a predicate phrase.

$$2. \quad PP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP + [copula] \\ VP \end{array} \right\}$$

There are two basic types of sentences [$NP + VP$ and $NP + NP + (copula)$] and all other types accounted for as being derived from these basic types.

Here, $NP + NP$ type is the equational type and $NP + VP$ is the subject-verb predicate type.

NP which is immediately dominated by S performs the function of subject. On the other hand NP which is immediately dominated by PP always functions as predicate.

$NP + VP$:

Mutyxe:n pi:či 'Muttikan went'

$NP + NP + [copula]$:

aə ka:wxwĩtŋ ɪyi 'He is Kawkuttan'

$$3. \quad VP \rightarrow [TM] + VP_1$$

TM stands for time expression which will be expanded later (See rule 27). In a verb predicate sentence we may or may not have time expression [TM] and so it is placed as optional item.

pičyxe:n mune:r pi:či 'Pelikan went day before yesterday'

o:n ɪne:r pozpini 'I came yesterday'

$$4. \quad VP_1 \rightarrow [case] + VP_2$$

Case represents the casual expressions and this is further expanded by the next rule.

5. *Case* \rightarrow *case* + [*case*]

This is a recursive rule with one restriction. That is to say, the same case should not be taken twice in a simple sentence. Toda has the maximum of four cases occurring in a simple sentence.

NP + Acc. + Abl. + Soc. + Dat. + Vb.

o:n kwĩṛki:ḡyn kwa:ṛəũnyšn enpody

küşuk po:dōšpini

'I asked *kwarkiry* to come with me to
Lovedale mund from *kwa:ṛəũny* 'mund'

Eventhough theoretically all the cases can combine with each other (cases) the following are the combinations of cases found in my Toda material.

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{Obj.} &+ \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{Ins.} \\ \text{Soc.} \\ \text{Dat.} + [\text{Soc.}] \\ \text{Abl.} \\ \text{Loc.} + [\text{Soc.}] \\ \text{Purp.} + [\text{Ins.}] \end{array} \right) \\
 \text{Soc.} &+ \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{Obj.} + [\text{Loc.}] \\ \text{Dat.} \\ \text{Purp.} + [\text{Dat.}] \\ \text{Abl.} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Dat.} \\ \text{Purp.} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right) \\
 \text{Ins.} &+ \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{Obj.} + [\text{Abl.}] \\ \text{Abl.} + [\text{Dat.}] \\ \text{Soc.} \\ \text{Dat.} \\ \text{Loc.} \end{array} \right)
 \end{aligned}$$

$$Abl. + \left(\begin{array}{l} Obj. + [Purp.] \\ Soc. + [Dat.] \\ Dat. \\ Purp. \end{array} \right)$$

$$Dat. + \left(\begin{array}{l} Obj. \\ Ins. + [Abl.] \\ Soc. \\ Purp. \end{array} \right)$$

$$Purp. + \left(\begin{array}{l} Obj. \\ Abl. \\ Soc. + [Abl.] \end{array} \right)$$

$$Loc. + \left(\begin{array}{l} Obj. \\ Soc. \\ Dat. \\ Purp. \end{array} \right)$$

Obj.

o:n an pūşodşpini

‘I called him’

Obj. + Ins

o:n ɪrn moštɪ kû:pşpini

‘I killed buffalo with axe’

Obj. + Soc.

ka:wxwĩtɪ pilsodɪ enpodɪ kařçi

‘Kawkuttan send Pilsed
with me’

Obj. + Dat. + Soc.

o:n an modk ko:swĩɾ po:dõşpini

‘I asked him to come to münd
with money’

Obj. + Abl.

ay o:ř tan ko:tfoyn aɪsn po:dõşpini

‘That person asked his wife to
come from there’

Obj. + Loc. + Soc.

o:n īne:r nīn melga:s modṣ pi:tro:jnwīr nwī:ṣpini

‘Yesterday I saw you at Melgas
mund with Peter Rajan’

Obj. + Purp. + Ins.

o:n pumn ango:y tu:ryiṣ aṛtpini

‘I cut fruit by knife for his
sake’

Soc.

mutna:s anpody pi:či ‘Mutnas went with him’

Soc. + Obj.

o:n īne:r sinmurypody nīmṇ koṣpini

‘I saw you yesterday with
Sinmury’

Soc. + Obj. + Loc.

o:n īne:r ka:wxwīṭṇpody nīmṇ o:ṭaṭṣ koṣpini

‘I saw you yesterday with
Kawkuttan on the way’

Soc. + Dat.

o:n anpody pirgo:rk pi:pini

‘I shall go to *pirgo:r* with him’

Soc. + Purp.

o:n nīnpody aego:yto:n poṣpini

‘I came with you for that
purpose’

Soc. + Purp. + Dat.

o:n an pody aego:y am modk pi:ṣpini

‘I went to that mund with him
for that purpose’

Soc. + Abl.

o:n mutna:spody aṭṣn pozpini

‘I came with Mutnas from there’

Soc. + Abl. + Dat.

o:n anpody pojo:rtṣn pirgo:ṛk pozpini

‘I came with him from Ootacamund to Kota Nad mund’

Soc. + Abl. + Purp.

o:n pi:ṛo:jnpody pojo:rtṣn nīngo:yto:n pozpini

‘I came with Peter Rajan from Ootacamund for your sake’

Ins.

o:n moṣṭiṭ kwartpini

‘I cut with axe’

Ins. + Obj.

o:n moṣṭiṭ ṛn kù:pṣpini

‘I killed the buffalo with an axe’

Ins. + Obj + Abl.

o:n nīn a:lto:n an aṭṣn po:dōṣpini

‘I asked him to come from there only because of you’

Ins. + Abl. + Dat.

o:n ana:lto:n moṛtxō:ṛṣn kùṣuk pozpini

‘I came from moṛtxō:ṛ mund to Lovedale mund because of him’

Ins. + Soc.

Sinmury ena:lto:n anpody pi:či

‘Sinmury went with him only because of me’

Ins. + Dat.

ana:l enk upum kaštm īyi 'It is very troublesome for me
because of him'

Ins. + Loc.

Pīnap enā:lto:n ka:šmodṣ wīdy
'Ponap is in the Kandal mund
because of me'

Abl.

o:n ogodykubṣn pozpini 'I came from Kotagiri'

Abl. + Obj. + Purp.

o:n sotyšn an nīngo:y'e:spozpini
'I brought it from shandy only
for your sake'

Abl + Soc.

o:n ogodykubṣn mutna:ṣpody pozpini
'I came with Mutnas from
Kotagiri'

Abl. + Soc. + Dat.

o:n te:lu:rṣn anpody kūṣuk pozpini
'I came with him to Lovedale
mund from Sholur'

Abl. + Dat.

o:n pojo:rtṣn kelck pozpini 'I came from Ootacamund for
the work'

Abl. + Purp.

ak ku:x ku:nu:rṣn engo:yto:n a:nk pi:či
'That girl went there from
Coonur only for my sake'

Dat.

ay o:t̥ pojo:rtk pi:ti 'he goes to Ootacamund'

Dat. + Obj.

o:n ank an kwīṛspini 'I gave him that'

Dat. + Ins.

o:n mi:t̥pa:wk ana:lto:n pi:špini
'I went to Mettupalayam only
because of him'

Dat. + Ins. + Abl.

mutna:s pīrgo:rk ana:lto:n meḷga:s moḍḡn pi:či
'Mutnas went to Kodanad
mund from Garden mund only
because of him'

Dat. + Soc.

o:n pojo:rtk anpody pi:špini
'I went to Ootacamund with
him'

Dat. + Purp.

o:n ank so:royg:oy poṇm kwīṛspini
'I gave him money for arrack'

Purp

o:n nīngoy i:nk pozpini 'I came here for your sake'

Purp. + Obj.

o:n angoy īrn kū:pšpini 'I killed buffalo only for his
sake'

Purp. + Abl.

kwī:f engo:y kwī:ko:lgn pi:či

‘Kota went from Kota village
for my sake’

Purp. + Soc.

o:n nīngo:yto:n anpođy pozpini

‘I came with him for your sake’

Purp. + Soc. + Abl.

o:n tōwnīsgo:y anpođy ku:lu:rsgn pozpini

‘I came with him from Guda-
lur for the sake of Tebnis’

Loc.

aə ka:sgmodsg wīdy

‘He is in Kandal mund’

Loc. + Obj.

o:n pojo:rtsg an kožpini

‘I saw him in Ootačamund’

Loc. + Soc.

o:n pođyš anpođy pi:špini

‘I went with him in the
bullock cart’

Loc. + Dat.

o:n ma:fkīdsg poayk poym pinšpini

‘I asked money from Badaga
for the bullock cart’

Loc. + Purp.

ma:f sotyš siťygo:y ki:č mo:rči

‘Badaga sold potato in shandy
for the sake of chettiar’

$$6. \text{ Case } \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Obj.} \\ \text{Ins.} \\ \text{Soc.} \\ \text{Dat.} \\ \text{Abl.} \\ \text{Loc.} \\ \text{Purp.} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$7. \text{ VP}_2 \longrightarrow [\text{Adv}] + \text{VP}_3$$

Adv. stands for adverb.

aə pern naʔeti 'He walks fast'

ak kīrwīd mely naʔeti
'That child walks slowly'

$$8. \text{ Adv } \longrightarrow [\acute{S}] + \text{Adv}_1$$

\acute{S} stands for a sentence that can occur as constituent sentence which is embedded into a matrix sentence. This is useful to derive the complex sentences like,

aə pod pīn o:n muk pī:xkin
1 2 3 4 5 6

I will go up after he comes
4 6 5 3 1 2

by embedding the constituent sentence,

aə podti 'He will come'
1 2

into the adverb of the matrix sentence,

o:n pīn muk pī:xkin
1 2 3 4

I will go up after
1 4 3 2

9. $\text{Adv}_1 \rightarrow [\text{Adv}_{\text{part.}}] + [\text{Adv}_{\text{man.}}] + [\text{Adv}_1]$

There are three types of adverbs and they are all abbreviated here. $[\text{Adv}_{\text{part.}}]$ stands for adverb of particles like *mařc* 'again' *třm* 'again' *řmřl* 'hereafter' etc; $[\text{Adv}_{\text{man.}}]$ stands for adverb of manner like *řgřs* 'in this manner' *agřs* 'in that manner' *egřs* 'in what manner' and $[\text{Adv}_1]$ stands for adverb of limit like *a:řm* 'until' *ne:řk* 'till' etc. It is possible to have constituents to be embedded into all these adverbs, such detailed study is not attempted here.

$\text{Adv}_{\text{part.}} + \text{Adv}_1.$

mařč a ne:řk pi:či 'Again he went till that end'

$\text{Adv}_{\text{part.}} + \text{Adv}_{\text{man.}}$

mařč o:n řřřřoy mo:třy křy
'you do it again in the way
which I said'

$\text{Adv}_{\text{part.}} + \text{Adv}_{\text{man.}} + \text{Adv}_1.$

mařč aə o:n řřřřoy mo:třy a ne:řkm pi:či
'he went again till that in the
way which I said'

10. $\text{Adv}_{\text{part.}} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adv}_{\text{part}_1.} \\ \text{Adv}_{\text{part}_2.} \end{array} \right\}$

Adv_{part} is further divided into $\text{Adv}_{\text{part}_1.}$ and $\text{Adv}_{\text{part}_2.}$

11. $\text{Adv}_{\text{part}_1} \rightarrow em$

o:nem paškin 'atleast I will come'

12. $\text{Adv}_{\text{part}_2} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{ma}r\check{c} & \text{'again'} \\ \text{i}r\text{m} & \text{'again'} \\ \text{i}n\text{m}\check{\text{i}}\text{l} & \text{'hereafter'} \\ \text{i}n\text{m} & \text{'yet, still'} \end{array} \right\}$

tojmox ma}r\check{c} pi:či 'Toda woman went again'

o:n i}r\text{m} pozpini 'I came again'

i}n\text{m}\check{\text{i}}\text{l} podo}ti 'won't come hereafter'

ank i}n\text{m} twi:} pe:k}yi 'he wants food more'

i}n\text{m} po}m pe:k}yi 'still need money'

13. $\text{Adv}_{\text{man.}} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adv}_{\text{man}_1.} \\ \text{Adv}_{\text{man}_2.} \end{array} \right\}$

$\text{Adv}_{\text{man}_1.}$ represents expressions like *ag}is* 'in that manner', *i}g}is* 'in this manner', *eg}is* 'in what manner' *a mo:tiry* 'in that way' *i mo:tiry* 'in this way' *e mo:tiry* 'in what way' and $\text{Adv}_{\text{man}_2.}$ represents expression like *tanyk* 'lonely' etc.

14. $\text{Adv}_{\text{man}_1.} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adv}_{\text{man}_{\text{sim.}}} \\ \text{Adv}_{\text{man}_{\text{com.}}} \end{array} \right\}$

Simple adverb of manner [$\text{Adv}_{\text{man}_{\text{sim.}}}$] represents expressions like *ag}is*, *i}g}is* and complex adverb of manner [$\text{Adv}_{\text{man}_{\text{com.}}}$] represents expressions like *i mo:tiry* and *a mo:tiry* etc.

<i>aə ɪgɪs kɪsti</i>	‘he does it in this manner’
<i>ak ku:x agɪs kɪsti</i>	‘that girl does it in that manner’
<i>nɪ: ɪgɪs kɪsoʃi</i>	‘you should not do in this manner’
<i>nɪ: i mo:tɪry kɪsoʃi</i>	‘you should not do in this way’

15. $\text{Adv}_{\text{man}_2} \rightarrow \text{tanyk}$.

ak ku:x tanyk pi:či ‘that girl went lonely’

16. $\text{Adv}_1 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ne:r}k \\ \text{kɪd}k \end{array} \right\}$

mod kɪd}k ‘till the village’

a ne:r}k ‘till that’

17. $\text{VP}_s \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Vd} \\ \text{Vb} \end{array} \right\}$

Vd represents defective verbs like *o:rəy* ‘no’ *wɪd}v* ‘is/exist’, *pe:kɪyɪ* ‘(is) necessary’ *kwɪlɪyɪ* ‘(is) not necessary’ etc.

Toda has two types of verb bases. Vb which represents the Toda verb base, is further expanded by the following rule.

18. $\text{Vd} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Vd}_p \\ \text{Vd}_n \end{array} \right\}$

Vd_p represents positive defective verbs and Vd_n represent negative defective verbs.

Vd_p : *enk aə pe:k iyi* 'I want it'

Vd_n : *enk aə kwil iyi* 'I don't want that'

an kīdʒ poŋm wīdy 'He has money'

$$19. Vb \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} Vb_1 \\ Vb_2 \end{array} \right\}$$

Toda has two types of stems which we call simple stem [S_1] and secondary stem [S_2]. In Toda language, verbs have a secondary stem [S_2] which forms the basis for the past tense and of the present – future tense (as well as of some other formation).

Vb_1 represents the simple stem. Vb_2 represents the secondary stem. Vb_1 and Vb_2 are also known by the other names as S_1 and S_2 (For the detail see verb classes).

$$20. Obj. \rightarrow NP. + Obj. S.$$

For Objective suffix [Obj. S.] See 3.2.2.1.

Ex. *o:ʔn* 'Toda man (Obj.)'

irn 'buffalo (Obj.)'

$$21. Soc \rightarrow NP + Soc. S.$$

For Sociative suffix [Soc. S.] See 3.2.2.3.

Ex. *piʔyxe:n pody* 'with Pelikan'

Sinmury wīʔ 'with Sinmury'

22. Ins. —> NP + Ins. S.

For Instrumental suffix [Ins. S.] See 3.2.2.2.

Ex. <i>ana:l</i>	'by him'
<i>nīna:l</i>	'by you'
<i>nīnīd</i>	'by you'
<i>ena:l</i>	'by me'
<i>enīd</i>	'by me'
<i>ku:xna:l</i>	'by girl'
<i>koṇa:r</i>	'by eye'
<i>kīfya:r</i>	'by ear'
<i>po:ya:r</i>	'by mouth'
<i>moštiṭ</i>	'by axe'
<i>tu:ryiṭ</i>	'by knife'

23. Dat. —> NP. + Dat. S.

For Dative suffix [Dat. S.] See 3.2.2.4.

Ex. <i>enk</i>	'to me'
<i>emk</i>	'to us'
<i>nīnk</i>	'to you'
<i>moṛtk</i>	'to the mund'
<i>sonk</i>	'to people'
<i>no:yik</i>	'to the assembly'
<i>īrk</i>	'to buffalo'
<i>a:ṣk</i>	'to house'

24. Abl. —> NP. + Abl. S.

For Ablative suffix [Abl.S.] See 3.2.2.5.

Ex. <i>modʒn</i>	‘from mund’
<i>u:rʒn</i>	‘from village’
<i>aʃʒn</i>	‘from that direction’
<i>kopolʒn</i>	‘from ship’

25. Purp. —> NP. + Purp.S.

For Purposive suffix [Purp.S.] See 3.2.2.8.

Ex. <i>engo:y</i>	‘for my sake’
<i>nĩngo:y</i>	‘for your sake’
<i>ango:y</i>	‘for his/her sake’

26. Loc. —> NP. + Loc S.

For Locative suffix (Loc S.) See 3.2.2.7.

Ex. <i>enkĩdʒ</i>	‘with me’
<i>ankĩdʒ</i>	‘with him’
<i>ku:xkĩdʒ</i>	‘with girl’
<i>ekaʃfotʒ</i>	‘in the evening’
<i>kaʃtalʒ</i>	‘in darkness’
<i>u:rʒ</i>	‘in the village’ (non-Toda village)

$$27. \quad T_M \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} [T_x] + [T_y] \\ T_z \end{array} \right\}$$

Time expression is expanded here into two components T_x and T_y . T_x stands for expression like *ku:ʀl ti:ʒ* ‘month of *ku:ʀl*’, *emoʃy ti:ʒ* ‘month of *emoʃy*’ etc.

T_y stands for expressions like *ekaṛfoṭk* 'evening', *poxol* 'midday (exactly 12 o' clock).

ak ku:x ku:ṛl ti:ṭ pone:ḍa:n te:ti ekaṛfoṭk pi:či

'That girl went on twelfth evening of *ku:ṛl* month (January-February)'

ap pō:ṛmox nala:ṇy ti:ṭ pi:či

'That Tamil boy went in the month of Nalany'

ma:f neṛpoxol pi:či

'Badaga man went at about 12 o' clock'

kwī:f ekaṛfoṭk pi:či

'Kota went in the evening'

T_z stands for expressions like *enk muda:l* 'before me', *enk pīn* 'after me' etc.

aə enk muda:l pi:či 'He went before me'

aə enk pīn pi:či 'He went after me'

$$28. \quad T_x \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} T_m + T_n \\ T_1 \\ T_2 \end{array} \right\}$$

T_x is expanded into T_m and T_n and T_1 and T_2 .

T_m stands for expressions like *pīn* 'last' *iə* 'this' etc.

T_n stands for expressions like *kwa:ṛ* 'year' *paṛc* 'year' *ti:ṭ* 'month' *te:ti* 'date' etc.

In Toda language there is concord between Time expressions and the verb predicate in which we find tenses. When time expressions denote past they always take past tense, the present and future will always go with the non-past (present-future) respectively.

Here T_1 stands for past.

T_2 stands for non-past.

$T_m + T_n$:

P'in parc emoŋy ti:ɕ pa:nga:n te:ti piɕy kũʃuk pozpini

'I came on Friday the 14th of
emoŋy month of last year for
Lovedale mund'

29. $T_1 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ine:r} \\ \text{mune:r} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{'yesterday'} \\ \text{'day before'} \\ \text{yesterday'} \end{array} \right\}$

tõwbniɕ ine:r pi:ɕi 'Tebnis went yesterday'

sinxe:n mune:r pi:ɕi 'Sinkan went day before
yesterday'

30. $T_2 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{iɖ} \\ \text{makol} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{'to-day'} \\ \text{'to-morrow'} \end{array} \right\}$

sinkijpu:f iɖ podti 'Sinkijpuf comes to-day'

pofĩrmuɖ makol podti 'Powermut will come
to-morrow'

31. $T_n \rightarrow [T_r] + [T_s]$

T_r stands for expressions like *uja:fĩθ kwa:r* 'fifth year'
and T_s stands for expressions like *ti:ɕ* 'month' *te:ti* 'date'
etc.

T_r :

pö:ɾmox e:da:fīə kwa:ɾ pi:či

‘Tamil boy went in the second year’

$T_m + T_r$:

ak ku:x pīn parc pi:či

‘that girl went last year’

$T_m + T_r + T_s$:

ay o:ɕ pin parc nala:ny ti:ɕ pi:či

‘that man went last year in the month of *Nala:ny*’

T_s :

aə toy ti:ɕ pi:či

‘he went in the month of toy’

32. $T_s \rightarrow [T_t] + [T_u]$

T_t represents expressions denoting months and this will be expanded further. T_u stands for expressions denoting week, date and names of days etc.

T_t :

ni:pa:w nala:ny ti:ɕ pi:či

‘Nipaw went in the month of nalany’

$T_m + T_u$:

o:n pīnfo:ɾm pozpini

‘I came last week’

T_u :

o:n mu:da:n te:ti pozpini

‘I come on the third (day)’

$$T_m + T_r + T_t :$$

o:n pīn parc toy ti:ṭ pozpini

‘I came in the month of toy
last year’

$$T_m + T_r + T_t + T_u :$$

o:n pīn parc toy ti:ṭ mu:ḡa:n te:ti pozpini

‘I came on 3rd of the month
of tai last year’

$$33. \quad T_u \rightarrow [T_v] + [N_{da}]$$

T_v stands for expressions representing week or date and
 N_{da} stands for the names of days like *a:sm* ‘sunday’ *tony*
‘saturday’ etc.

$$T_m + T_v :$$

aə pīnfo:ṭm pi:či ‘he went last week’

$$T_v :$$

o:n a:ra:nte:ti pozpini ‘I came on the sixth’

$$T_t + T_v :$$

o:n ku:ṛl ti:ṭ mu:ḡa:fīṭ fo:ṭm kō:ṛk pi:špini

‘I went for the funeral in the
third week of the *ku:ṛl* month’

$$N_{da} :$$

o:n o:m pozpini

‘I came on Tuesday’

$T_r + T_t + T_v :$

o:n a:dy ti:ʃ pone:da:n te:ti pīʒiɬpimik pozpini

‘I came on twelfth of *a:dy*
month for bow - giving
ceremony’

34. $N_{da} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} a:sm & \text{‘Sunday’} \\ tu:fm & \text{‘Monday’} \\ o:m & \text{‘Tuesday’} \\ putuʃim & \text{‘Wednesday’} \\ ta:m & \text{‘Thursday’} \\ piʃy & \text{‘Friday’} \\ tony & \text{‘Saturday’} \end{array} \right\}$

35. $T_y \rightarrow [N_t] + [T_w]$

T_y is expanded into $[N_t] + [T_w]$ N_t represents expressions like *poxol* ‘noon, day’ *ekarʃotk* ‘evening’ etc and T_w represents expression of timings like *ūj moɲyk* ‘at five o’ clock’ etc.

$T_w :$

o:n a:ɬmoɲyk pozpini ‘I came at 6 o’ clock’

$N_t :$

aə ekarʃotk pi:či ‘he went in the evening’

$N_t + T_w :$

o:n ekarʃotk ūjmoɲyk pozpini

‘I came at 5 o’ clock in the
evening’

$$N_{da} + N_t + T_w :$$

peṭyxe:n ta:m ekaṛfotk üjmoṇyk pi:či

'Pelikan went at 5 o' clock on
Thursday evening'

$$T_v + N_{da} + N_t + T_w :$$

o:n toy ti:ṭ ponmu:da:n te:ti poxol pone:d moṇyk pozpini

'I came on 12th noon at
12 o' clock in the month of
toy'

$$T_r + T_t + T_v + N_{da} + N_t + T_w :$$

*o:n pīn parc a:ḍy ti:ṭ ḍṭa:n te:ti piṭy ekaṛfotk no:ngmoṇyk
pozpini*

'I came at 4 o' clock in the
evening on Friday the 8th of
the month of a:ḍy last year'

$$T_l + N_t + T_w :$$

töwbnīṣ ine:r ekaṛfotk no:ng moṇyk pi:či

'Tebnis went at 4 o' clock
yesterday evening'

$$T_l + N_t + T_w :$$

mutxe:n iḍ poxol wīḍ moṇyk podti

'Mutikan comes at 10 o' clock
in the noon'

$$36. T_Z \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} T_D \\ T_E \end{array} \right\}$$

T_D is expanded below. T_E represents expression like *pern* 'immediately' etc.

o:n pern podpini 'I come immediately'

$$37. T_D \rightarrow NP-K + T_H$$

Sinke:n enk muda:l pi:či

'Sinkan went before me'

o:n ank pīn pozpini 'I came after him'

$$38. T_H \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} T_{H_1} \\ T_{H_2} \end{array} \right\}$$

T_{H_1} stands for *muda:l* 'before' and T_{H_2} stands for *pīn* 'after'

$NP-K + T_{H_1} :$

aə enk muda:l pi:či 'he went before me'

$NP-K + T_{H_2} :$

o:n ank pīn pozpini 'I came after him'

There is concord between Time expressions and verb predicate and therefore the Time expression is classified into T_1 , T_2 . When T_1 occurs in a sentence, the tense of the predicate is always past and when T_2 occurs, the predicate can be either in the present or in the future tense. Tense is rewritten

into past in this particular context when there is T_1 and into present or future in the context when there is T_2 .

39. $[Z_1] + T_1 + [Z_2] + \text{Tense}$
 $\rightarrow [Z_1] + T_1 + [Z_2] + \text{Past}$

Here Z_1 and Z_2 are abbreviations of any item or items which can occur in the respective slots. Their presence or absence does not affect the tense being rewritten into past and therefore they are put in parenthesis.

o:n ĩne:r pozpini 'I came yesterday'

o:n ĩd pozpini 'I came to-day'

[Here T_1 will include 'to-day' also]

* *Sinmury ĩne:r podti* 'Sinmury will come yesterday'

40. $[Z_1] + T_2 + [Z_2] + \text{Tense}$
 $\rightarrow [Z_1] + T_2 + [Z_2] + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pers.} \\ \text{Fut.} \end{array} \right\}$

ponap makol podti 'Ponnap will come to-morrow'

mutna:s makol pi:ti 'Mutnas will go to-morrow'

ka:wxwĩtĩ ĩd podti 'Kawkuttan comes to-day'

a:sxwĩĩyĩn ĩd pi:ti 'Askulypin goes to-day'

41. $\text{VOCI} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{VOC} \\ \text{Intr} \end{array} \right\}$

VOCI is expanded further. VOC represents all the vocative expressions and Intr all the interjections found in Toda language.

e:y a:nk pĩ:x 'hey, go there'

ĩyo: ayo:ĩ kō:ĩfiĩ 'alas! that man is dead'

$$42. \text{ VOC } \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{VOC}_1 \\ \text{VOC}_2 \end{array} \right\}$$

Vocative expressions are classified into VOC_1 and VOC_2 . VOC_1 stands for vocative forms derived from nouns. [*ku:xya:* < *ku:x*]

VOC_1 :

e:y a:nk pīx 'hey, go there'

VOC_2 :

ku:xya: a:nk pī:x 'Oh! my wife, go there'

$$43. \text{ Intr. } \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{īyo:} & \text{'alas!'} \\ \text{ūš} & \text{'exclamation of disgust'} \\ \text{tu:} & \text{'disgust'} \\ \text{.....} & \\ \text{.....} & \end{array} \right\}$$

$$44. \text{ NP } \rightarrow [\acute{\text{S}}] + \text{NP}_1$$

S is introduced here to derive the relative participle etc. This kind is very important in Dravidian languages. (See 4 12.)

$$45. \text{ NP}_1 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP}_2 \\ \text{PN} \end{array} \right\}$$

NP_1 is further classified into pronoun [PN] and other nouns [NP_2]. This is necessary because of the fact that NP_2 alone can be preceded by any adjective or genitive and not PN.

<i>kīr mox</i>	‘small boy’
<i>etu:d as</i>	‘big house’
<i>*kin aə</i>	‘small – he’

46. $NP_2 \rightarrow [Gen] + NP_3$

Gen. stands for genitive case.

<i>en īr</i>	‘my buffalo’
<i>nīn a:g</i>	‘your house’
<i>aə en wīrfedn o:ɛ</i>	‘he is my younger sister’s husband (women’s speech)’
<i>aə en wīrfedn ku:xn mox</i>	‘he is my younger sister’s son (women’s speech)’
<i>aə en o:ɛŋ dan okn o:ɛ</i>	‘he is my husband’s elder sister’s husband (women’s speech)’

47. $Gen \rightarrow NP + Gen.S.$

For Genitive case suffix See 3.2.2.6.

<i>en īr</i>	‘my buffalo’
<i>an mox</i>	‘his son’

48. $NP_3 \rightarrow [Dem] + NP_4$

Demonstrative adjectives occur before the nouns other than pronouns [PN] and quantitative nouns [N_{quan}] Dem. stands for demonstrative adjectives like *ay* ‘that’ *iy* ‘this’, *a* ‘that’, *i* ‘this’ etc.

<i>a mod</i>	'that Toda village'
<i>a twī:</i>	'that pen'
<i>a tōw</i>	'that God'
<i>i no:r</i>	'this sacred place'
<i>ay īr</i>	'that buffalo'
<i>ay u:r</i>	'that Tamil village'
<i>iy īr</i>	'this buffalo'
<i>iy u:r</i>	'this Tamil village'

$$49. \text{NP}_4 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Num.} \\ \text{Ord.} \\ \text{M. Adj.} \\ \text{Ind.} \end{array} \right\} + \text{NP}_5$$

NP_4 is expanded into numeral adjective [Num], ordinal adjective [Ord] and Mass adjective [M. Adj.] and they can be followed by another noun phrase [NP_5].

Num. + NP_5 :

ūj o:t 'five Toda men'

Ord. + NP_5 :

no:nga:fīθ ku:x 'fourth daughter'

ōta:n te:ti 'eighth day'

Dem. + Num. + NP_5 :

ay ūj a:g m 'those five houses'

Ind.:

upum o:t 'many persons'

ity īr 'few buffaloes'

50. Ord. \rightarrow Num. + Ord_s :

Ord_s represents the ordinal suffixes *a:fīθ* and *a:n*.

no:ng-a:fīθ a:s 'fourth house'

pone:d-a:n te:ti 'twelfth day'

51. Tr \rightarrow Ord + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} kwa:r \\ parc \end{array} \right\}$

o:n mu:da:fīθ kwa:rš pozpini

'I came in the third year'

52. T_t \rightarrow $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Ord}_d \\ N_{\text{mon}} \end{array} \right\} + ti:ʔ$

T_t is expanded here. Ord_d stands for ordinals denoting one to twelve and N_{mon} stands for names of twelve months.

e:da:fīθ ti:ʔ 'second month'

o:n a:dy ti:ʔ podpini 'I will come in the month of
a:dy'

a pō:rmox a:ərv ti:ʔ pi:čl

'that Tamil boy went in the
month of *a:ərv* (April-May)'

ma:fmox ku:rl ti:ʔ pi:či

'Badaga boy went in the
month of *ku:rl*'

$$53. \quad T_v \quad \rightarrow \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Ord}_p \quad + \quad po:ɽm \\ \text{Ord}_t \quad + \quad te:ti \end{array} \right\}$$

Ord_p stands for ordinals denoting one to four and
 Ord_t stands for ordinals denoting one to thirty one.

e:da:fɿə po:ɽm 'second week'
pa.nga:n te:ti 'fourteenth day'

$$54. \quad N_t \quad \rightarrow \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} i:sy & \text{'morning'} \\ poxol & \text{'noon'} \\ ekar:folk & \text{'evening'} \\ \dots\dots\dots & \\ \dots\dots\dots & \end{array} \right\}$$

$$55. \quad T_w \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Num}_m + \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ko:l \\ ar \\ muko:l \end{array} \right\} \right) + .mɔnyk$$

Num_m stands for the numerals one to twelve.

mu:ɔ̌ mɔnyk 'at 3 o' clock'
mu:ɔ̌ ko:l mɔnyk 'at 3-15'
no:ng mɔnyk 'at 4 o' clock'
no:ng ar mɔnyk 'at 4-30'
üj muko:l mɔnyk 'at 5-45'

$$56. \quad \text{Ord}_d \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Num}_m + \text{Ord}_s$$

Ord_d stands for all ordinals which occur with the names
of months, that is one to twelve.

e:da:fɿə ti:ɕ 'second month'
öɽa:fɿə ti:ɕ 'eighth month'

57. $\text{Ord}_t \rightarrow \text{Num}_t + \text{Ord}_s$

Ord_t represents all numerals from one to thirty one which can occur before the noun *te:ti* 'day or date'

öta:n te:ti 'eighth day'

58. $\text{Ord}_p \rightarrow \text{Num}_p + \text{Ord}_s$

Num_p represents numerals one to four.

e:ða:fīø po:ɾm 'second week'

mu:ða:fīø po:ɾm 'third week'

no:nga:fīø po:ɾm 'fourth week'

59. $\text{N}_{\text{mon}} \rightarrow$

<i>ku:ɾl</i>	Dec. - Jan.
<i>ala:ny</i>	Jan. - Feb.
<i>nala'ny</i>	Feb. - Mar.
<i>a:ny</i>	Mar. - Apr.
<i>a:øry</i>	Apr. - May
<i>a:ɖy</i>	May - Jun.
<i>a:fny</i>	Jun. - Jul.
<i>perta:øy</i>	Jul. - Aug.
<i>tuðøɽfy</i>	Aug. - Sep.
<i>kirdīfy</i>	Sep. - Oct.
<i>toy</i>	Oct. - Nov.
<i>emoɽy</i>	Nov. - Dec.

60. $\text{M. Adj} \rightarrow \text{M. Adj}_1$

M. Adj_1 represents expressions like

mu:ɖ e:ker neln 'land of three acres'

üj ačok po:s 'milk of five seer'

wīɖ pi:čm kapoɽy 'jaggery of one vi:če'

61. $M. Adj_1 \rightarrow Num + MLW$

MLW stands for names of measures, length and weights.

62. $MLW \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} M \\ L \\ W \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} /- N_m \\ /- N_l \\ /- N_w \end{array}$

This rule is a context-sensitive rule. MLW is expanded into names of measure [M] like *ak*, *kwa:x*, names of length measure [L] like *oṭy*, *e:ker*, *magoy* etc., and names of weights [w] like *pičm*, *moṇuf* etc.

63. $M \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} ak \\ kwa:x \\ \\ \end{array} \right\}$

wī:r ak po:ṣ

'milk of one *ačok* measure'

e:ḍ kwa:x potm

'ragi of two big *ačok* measure'

64. $L \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} e:ker \\ oṭy \\ magoy \\ \\ \end{array} \right\}$

e:ḍ e:ker pu:my

'land of two acres'

pot oṭy poeky

'ten feet distance'

üj magoy pu:txuṣy

'*pu:txuṣy* of five *magoy* measure'

$$65. \text{ W} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pi:}\check{\text{c}}\text{m} \\ \text{mo}\eta\text{uf} \\ \text{.....} \\ \text{.....} \end{array} \right\}$$

no:ng pi:}\check{\text{c}}\text{m kapo}\text{ṭy} 'jaggery of four *vi:}\check{\text{c}}\text{e}*'

ṽj pi:}\check{\text{c}}\text{m mo:f} 'flour of five *vi:}\check{\text{c}}\text{e}*'

wīḍ mo}\eta\text{uf kapo}\text{ṭy} 'jaggery of one *ma}\eta\text{uṅku}* weight'

$$66. \text{ Ind.} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{upum} & \text{'many' } \\ \text{ity} & \text{'few' } \end{array} \right\}$$

upum ṭr 'many buffaloes'

ity o:}\text{ṭ} 'few persons'

$$67. \text{ NP}_5 \longrightarrow [\text{N}_q] + \text{NP}_6$$

N_q stands for nouns of quality

na}\text{ṣ ku:}\bar{\text{x}} 'beautiful girl'

wī}\text{ṭy pō}\text{ḷk} 'good lamp'

wī}\text{ṭy ṭr} 'good buffalo'

wī}\text{ṭy mox} 'good boy'

$$68. \text{ NP}_6 \longrightarrow [\text{Adj}] + \text{NP}_7$$

Adjective [Adj] stands for expressions like *etu:}\text{ḍ}* 'big', *kī}\text{ṛ}* 'small' etc.

etu:}\text{ḍ mo}\text{ḍ} 'big Toda village'

etu:}\text{ḍ a:}\text{ṣ} 'big house'

kī}\text{ṛ mox} 'small boy'

$$69 \quad \text{Adj} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Adj}_a \\ \text{Adj}_p \end{array} \right\}$$

Adjective is expanded here as Adj_a and Adj_p . Adj_a stands for adjectives like *etu:ḍ* 'big' *kīṛ* 'small' *pa:fn* 'old' etc. Adj_p stands for adjectives like *pōḥ* 'white', *po:x* 'red', *ni:lm* 'blue', and *poč* 'green' etc.

$$70. \quad \text{Adj}_a \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{etu:ḍ} \\ \text{kīṛ} \\ \text{wīḥy} \\ \text{pa:fn} \\ \text{.....} \\ \text{.....} \end{array} \right\}$$

etu:ḍīṛ 'big buffalo'

etu:ḍ o:ḥ 'big man'

etu:ḍ a:g 'big house'

kīṛ mox 'small boy'

pa:fn toṛp 'old dhoti'

pa:fn pu:txuḥy 'old cloak'

$$71. \quad \text{Adj}_p \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{ka:r} \\ \text{pōḥ} \\ \text{ni:lm} \\ \text{po:x} \\ \text{poč} \\ \text{.....} \\ \text{.....} \end{array} \right\}$$

pōḥ toṛp 'white dhoti'

pōḥ kopañ 'white butterfly'

ni:lm kal 'blue stone (in the ring)'

poč pul 'green grass'

72. $NP_7 \rightarrow [N. Adj_q] + NP$

$N.Adj_q$ stands for any noun occurring as an attribute to another noun.

kō:r a:s

‘death house’

pīš a:s

‘hut to which woman goes after
child birth and stays until
new moon’

73. $Num \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} Num_s \\ Num_p \end{array} \right\}$

Numeral is classified into numeral singular $[Num_s]$ and numeral plural $[Num_p]$.

74. $Num_s \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} Num_c \\ Frac \end{array} \right\}$

Singular number is expanded into singular cardinal $[Num_c]$ like *w7d* ‘one’ and fraction $[Frac.]$ like *ko:l* ‘quarter’, *aṛ* ‘half’, *mu:kol* ‘three fourths’ etc.

75. $Num_p \rightarrow Num_{pc} + [Frac.]$

Num_{pc} represents plural cardinal numbers like *mu:d* ‘three’, *ūj* ‘five’, *pot* ‘ten’ etc.

$Num_{pc} + Frac.$

mu:d kol

‘ $3\frac{1}{2}$ ’

e:d ar

‘ $2\frac{1}{2}$ ’

no:ng muko:l

‘ $4\frac{3}{4}$ ’

$$76. \text{Frac} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} ko:l & \text{'quarter'} \\ ar & \text{'half'} \\ muko:l & \text{'three fourths'} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$77. \text{N} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N_A \\ N_{IA} \end{array} \right\}$$

Nouns can be divided into animate nouns $[N_A]$ and inanimate nouns $[N_{IA}]$ ¹

ankĩḍṣ upum ĩr wĩḍy 'he has more buffaloes'

enkĩḍṣ upum poŋm wĩḍy 'I have more money'

ĩrkĩḍṣ upum kwar wĩḍy 'there is mud near buffalo'

me:ntṣ upum pum wĩḍy 'there are plenty of fruits in the tree'

pa:fyṣ ni:r o:roy 'There is no water in the well'

$$78. N_A \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N_{pn} \\ N_{cn} \end{array} \right\}$$

N_{pn} represents proper nouns $[N_{pn}]$ and N_{cn} represents common noun $[N_{cn}]$. The proper nouns do not take plural suffix and common nouns can take the plural suffix.

1 This classification is necessitated due to the following reasons. Certain nouns take *kĩḍṣ* as locative case sign and certain others do not. Those which take *kĩḍṣ* are classified here as animate and the rest inanimate. Eventhough human and non-human distinctions are maintained in interrogative pronouns [*o:ry* 'who' in 'what' *e:ə* 'which'] we can't find the distinction in syntactic level.

N_{pn} :

<i>töwbnĩs</i>	‘a personal name’
<i>išköxwĩłŋ</i>	‘a personal name’
<i>mu:nbo:wxwĩłŋ</i>	‘a personal name’

N_{cn} :

<i>wĩłfed</i>	‘younger brother’
<i>mox</i>	‘boy’
<i>ku:x</i>	‘girl’

$$79. N_{pn} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N_{pm} \\ N_{pf} \end{array} \right\}$$

Proper nouns are classified into masculine proper nouns [N_{pm}] and feminine proper nouns [N_{pf}].

N_{pm} :

<i>ałpa:wnĩs</i>	‘a personal name’
<i>a:sxwĩłŋyfin</i>	„
<i>pĩnsfin</i>	„

N_{pf} :

<i>pofĩrmuť</i>	‘a personal name’
<i>ełcigyfuf</i>	„
<i>sinbüdy</i>	„

$$80. N_{cn} \rightarrow N_{cns} + [Pl_1]$$

N_{cns} :

mox 'boy'

ku:x 'girl'

$N_{cn} + Pl_1$:

mox - a:m 'boys'

ku:x - a:m 'girls'

kwī:f - a:m 'Kotas'

$$81. N_{cns} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N_{cnI} \\ N_{cnD} \end{array} \right\}$$

N_{cnI} stands for inherent nouns like *wīrfed* 'younger brother' *eyi*; 'father' *af* 'mother' etc. N_{cnD} stands for derived nouns like *kel-o:ŋ* 'old man' *kel-oč* 'old woman' etc.

N_{cnI} has no morphological marker for the gender number whereas N_{cnD} has morphological marker.

$$82. N_{cnI} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N_{cnm} \\ N_{cnf} \end{array} \right\}$$

Inherent common nouns are expanded into masculine common noun $[N_{cnm}]$ and feminine common noun $[N_{cnf}]$.

$$83. N_{cn} \cdot D \rightarrow N_{cn} B + G.N.$$

$N_{cn} B$ stands for common noun base and G.N. for gender-number suffixes.

kel- o:t 'old man'

kel- oč 'old woman'

$$84. G. N. \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mas.} \\ \text{fem.} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$85. N_{IA} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N_{cn} \\ N_{ncn} \end{array} \right\}$$

Inanimate nouns [N_{IA}] are classified into count nouns [N_{cn}] and non-count nouns [N_{ncn}]

$$86. N_{ncn} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N_{ma} \\ N_{pn} \end{array} \right\}$$

N_{ma} represents the mass noun like *əno:y* 'oil' *ni:r* 'water' etc. and N_{pn} represents the proper nouns (names of the place) like *pojo:rm* 'Ootacamund', *mi:tpa:w* 'Mettupalayam', *maera:č* 'Madras', *moysu:r* 'Mysore' etc.

Mass noun cannot take plural suffix while count noun can take plural suffix.

$$87. N_{ma} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N_{ql} \\ N_{qn} \end{array} \right\}$$

Mass noun is further sub-divided into quality noun [N_{ql}] like *sinm* 'anger with grudge', *püty* 'wisdom', and *põť* 'white' etc and nouns of quantity [N_{qn}] like *nīy* 'ghee', *kapoty* 'jaggery', *neš* 'paddy' etc. Quantity noun can take mass adjective like names of weights and measures.

$$88. N_{qn} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} N_M \\ N_L \\ N_W \end{array} \right\}$$

N_M stands for nouns which can be preceded by nouns of measurements, N_L for nouns which can be preceded by nouns of length and N_W for nouns which can be preceded by nouns of weights.

$M + N_M :$

a:ř ak nīy 'ghee of six *ačok* measure'

$L + N_L :$

ũj e:ker pu:my 'land of five acres'

$W + N_W :$

oť pi:čm kapoty 'jaggery of eight *vi:če*'

$$89. N_{ql} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} naš & \text{'beauty'} \\ sinm & \text{'anger with grudge'} \\ poč & \text{'green'} \\ ni:lm & \text{'blue'} \\ & \\ & \end{array} \right\}$$

$$90. N_M \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} a\check{s}ky & \text{'rice'} \\ n\bar{i}y & \text{'ghee'} \\ e\eta o:y & \text{'oil'} \\ po:s & \text{'milk'} \\ \dots\dots\dots & \\ \dots\dots\dots & \end{array} \right\}$$

$$91. N_L \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} neln & \text{'land'} \\ poeky & \text{'distance'} \\ torp & \text{'dhoti'} \\ pu:txu\eta y & \text{'cloak'} \\ ko:r & \text{'cultivable land'} \\ \dots\dots\dots & \\ \dots\dots\dots & \end{array} \right\}$$

$$92. N_W \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} p\ddot{u}ly & \text{'tamarind'} \\ kapo\eta y & \text{'jaggery'} \\ arsn & \text{'turmeric'} \\ \dots\dots\dots & \\ \dots\dots\dots & \end{array} \right\}$$

$$93. N_{cn} \longrightarrow N_{cns} + [Pl]$$

Count noun may be of singular and plural

N_{cns} :

<i>ka:s</i>	'stone'
<i>me:\eta</i>	'tree'
<i>pu:f</i>	'flower'
<i>k\bar{i}d\eta f</i>	'shrub'

$N_{cn} + [Pl] :$

<i>kag-a:m</i>	'stones'
<i>me:ŋ-a:m</i>	'trees'
<i>pu:f-a:m</i>	'flowers'
<i>kĩd̥f-a:m</i>	'shrubs'

$$94. \text{PN} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{PPN} \\ \text{DPN} \end{array} \right\}$$

PPN stands for personal pronouns which have number distinction and DPN for demonstrative pronouns which do not have gender distinction.

PPN :

<i>o:n</i>	'I'
<i>om</i>	'we (incl.)'
<i>em</i>	'we (excl.)'
<i>nĩ:</i>	'you (sg.)'
<i>nĩm</i>	'you (pl.)'

DPN :

<i>aə</i>	'he/she/it - that'
<i>iə</i>	'he/she/it - this'

$$95. \text{PPN} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{PPN}_1 \\ \text{PPN}_2 \end{array} \right\} + \text{Nu}$$

There are two kinds of personal pronouns, first person [PPN₁], second person [PPN₂] and Nu. stands for number suffixes.

$$96. \text{DPN} \rightarrow \left\{ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{RDPN} \\ \text{PDPN} \end{array} \right\} + \text{person} + \text{number} \right\}$$

Demonstrative pronouns are divided into remote demonstrative pronoun [RDPN] and proximate pronoun [PDPN].

RDPN :

a-ə 'he / she / it - that'

a-ə-a:m 'they'

PDPN :

i-ə 'he/she/it-this'

i-ə-a:m 'they'

$$97. \text{Vd} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Vd}_p \\ \text{Vd}_n \end{array} \right\}$$

Vd_p stands for defective positive verb and Vd_n stands for defective negative verb.

Vd_p :

aə enk pe:kīyi 'I want it'

Vd_n :

aə enk kwīlīyi 'I don't want that'

$$98. \text{Cl} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} [\text{Cl}_1] \\ \text{Cl}_3 \end{array} \right\} [\text{Cl}_2]$$

Clitics Cl_1 may be followed by Cl_2 .

N + Cl₁ + VP :

aə-m pi:či 'he also went'

N + Cl₂ + VP :

aə-to:n pi:či 'he went'

N + Cl₁ + Cl₂ + VP :

aə-m to:n pi:či 'he also went'

N + Cl₃ + VP :

makolkem pī:k 'go atleast to-morrow'

99. Cl₁ —> *m*

100. Cl₂ —> *to:n*

101. Cl₃ —> *e:n*

For their further classification see section VI.

102. Part —> { *pīn* 'afterwards' }
 { *maṛč* 'again' }
 { *me:l* 'above' }
 { *ki:l* 'below' }
 { *uṭg* 'inside' }
 { }
 { }

For their further classification see section VII.

9.2. Grammatical transformation

9.2.1. Relative participle

Toda as other Dravidian languages has a category called relative participle which is used to form a kind of construction

corresponding to English relative clause. Relative participle has the characteristics of verb and adjective. It is partly a verb because it has temporal reference and partly an adjective since it qualifies a noun. There are three kinds of relative participles in Toda, 1. Past relative participle, 2 Present-future relative participle and 3. Negative relative participle.

Relative participle is always in construction with the following noun.

a:nk podfoj o:ʔa:m

1 2 3

Here *pod-ʔ-foj* 'came' (adj.) is the relative participle and it is in construction with *o:ʔa:m* 'persons' *foj* is the participle marker which follows the tense marker - ʔ.

Relative participle in Toda always precedes the noun which it qualifies.

podfoj o:ʔa:m 'the persons who came'. But in English the relative clause follows the noun as in

'persons who came'

It is found that the relative participle has different grammatical relationships with the noun that follows.

1. Subject-predicate relationship

podfoj o:ʔa:m 'persons who came'

2. Object-predicate relationship

ʔʂtfoj poŋy 'the work which (someone)
said'

3. Instrumental-predicate relationship

kwa:ɾfoɪ moʃt 'the axe with which (someone)
cut'

4. Dative-predicate relationship

mo:ɾfoɪ ko:s 'the money to which (someone)
sold'

5. Locative-predicate relationship

pi:t o:lɑ:ɾ 'the path in which (someone)
goes'

6. Purposive-predicate relationship

uɖt ni:r 'the water that is used for
drinking'

9.2 1.1. Subject-predicate relationship

When the head of the noun phrase is the same as the subject of the sentence we find that the same relationship (Subject-predicate) in the phrase also. In the following sentence Relative participle (2) and noun (3) show the subject-predicate relation.

1. *o:n podt o:ɕŋ koʒpini*
1 2 3 4

'I saw the man who comes'

This sentence is derived when the constituent sentence

2. *o:ɕ podti*
1 2

'the man comes'

is embedded into the matrix sentence

3. *o:n o:tɛn koʒpini*

1 2 3

'I saw the man'

Note that when the constituent sentence is embedded into the noun phrase—we find two identical nouns one in the constituent and another in the matrix and the resultant sentence undergoes many transformations we get the resultant sentence,

o:n [o:tɛ podti] o:tɛn koʒpini

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

Relativization transformation

SD: *o:n o:tɛ podti o:tɛn koʒpini*

1 2 3 4 5 6

NP NP VP NP Obj.S. VP

SC: $1+2+3+4+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+2+3-R.P.+4+5+6.$

Equi NP deletion transformation

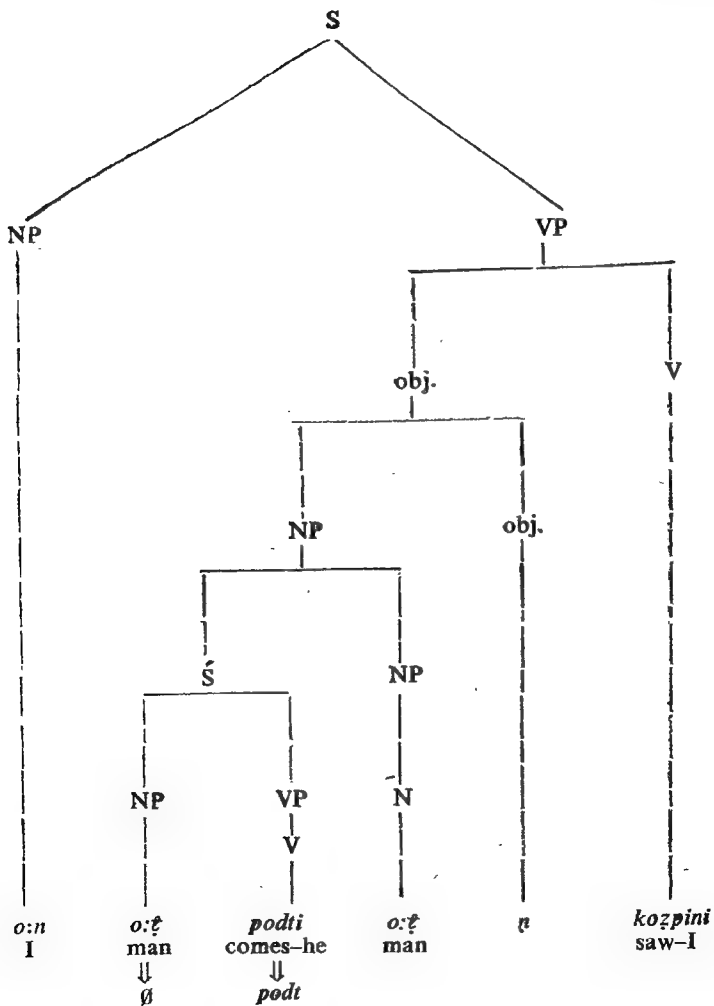
SD: $NP+NP+VP-R.P.+NP+Obj.S.+VP$

1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: $1+2+3-R.P.+4+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+3+4+5+6$

if $2=4$

(Since $2=4$, 2 is deleted)



9.2.1.2. Object-predicate relationship

When the head of the noun phrase is the same as the object of the sentence we find the same relation (object – predicate) in the phrase also. In the following sentence Relative participle (3) and noun (4) show the object – predicate relation.

4. *o:n nīm ōšt kelcn kīspini*
 1 2 3 4 5

‘I shall do the work which you say’

This sentence is derived when the constituent sentence,

5. *nīm kelc ōštīši*
 1 2 3

‘you say the work’

is embedded into the NP of the matrix sentence

6. *o:n kelcn kīspini*
 1 2 3

‘I do the work’

we get,

o:n [nīm kelc ōštīši] kelc n kīspini

NP [NP NP VP] NP Obj.S VP

[The constituent sentence is within parentheses] and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

Relativization transformation

SD : *o:n nīm kelc ōštīši kelc n kīspini*
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

NP NP NP VP NP Obj.S. VP

SC: $1+2+3+4+5+6+7 \Rightarrow 1+2+3+4\text{-R.P.}+5+6+7$

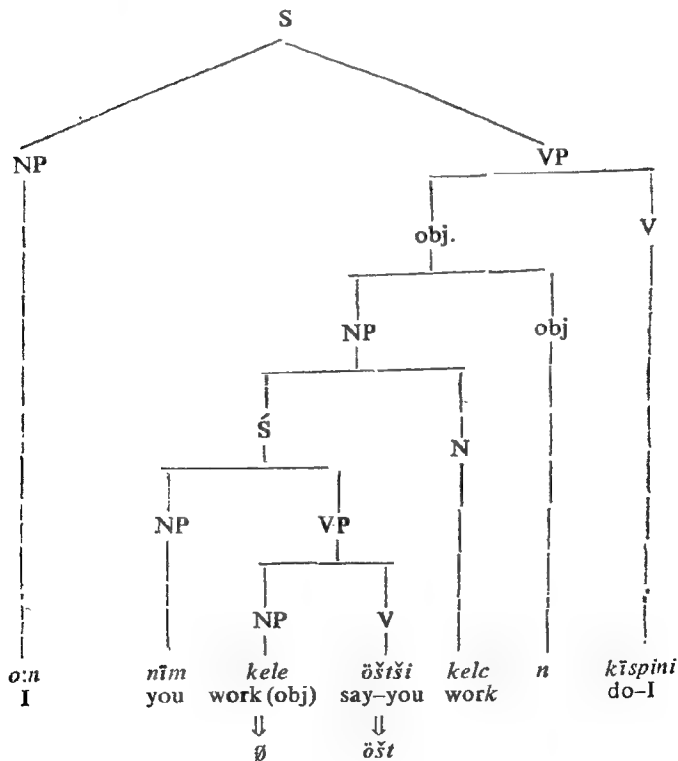
Equi NP deletion transformation

SD : NP+NP+NP+VP-R.P.+NP+Obj.S.+VP
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC : 1+2+3+4-R.P.+5+6+7 \Rightarrow 1+2+4+5+6+7

If 3=5

[Since 3=5, 3 is deleted.]



9.2.1.3. Instrumental-predicate relationship

When the head of the noun phrase is the same as the instrument of the sentence we find that the same relation (Inst.-predicate) in the phrase also. In the following sentence, Relative participle (2) and noun (3) show the instrumental-predicate relation.

7. *o:n kwartfoy mošt uḡs wīḡy*
 1 2 3 4 5
 'the axe with which I cut is inside'

This sentence is derived when the constituent sentence,

8. *o:n moštīḡ kwaršpini*
 1 2 3
 'I cut with an axe'
 1 3 2

is embedded into the NP of matrix sentence

9. *mošt uḡs wīḡy*
 1 2 3
 'the axe is inside'
 1 3 2

we get,

- [*o:n moštīḡ kwaršpini*] *mošt uḡs wīḡy*
 NP NP VP NP Adv. VP

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

Relativization transformation rule

- SD: *o:n moštīḡ kwaršpini mošt uḡs wīḡy*
 NP NP VP NP Adv. VP
 1 2 3 4 5 6

- SC: 1+2+3+4+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+2+3-R.P.+4+5+6

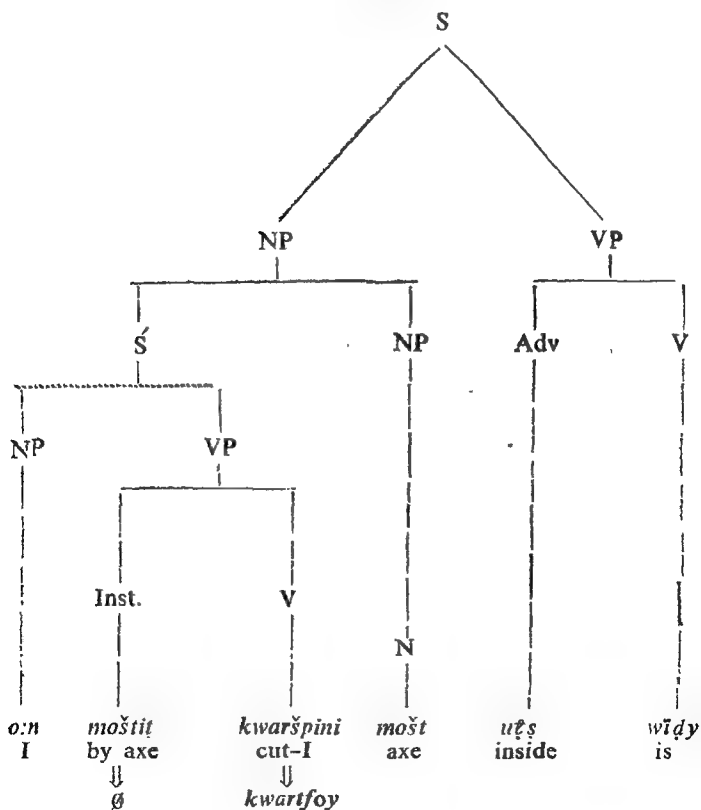
Equi NP deletion transformation rule

SD: NP + NP + VP-R.P. + NP + Adv. + VP
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1+2+3-R.P.+4+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+3+4+5+6

If 2=4

(Since 2=4, 2 is deleted)



9.2.1.4. Dative predicate relationship

When the head of the noun phrase is the same as the dative of the sentence we find that the same relation (Dative predicate) in the phrase also. In the following sentence Relative participle (3) and noun (4) show the dative-predicate relationship.

10. *ni: ki:č mo:ryfoj ko:sn e:spi*

1 2 3 4 5

'you (sg.) took the money to which you sold the

1 5 4 1 3

potato

2

This sentence is derived when the constituent sentence,

11. *ni: ko:sk ki:č mo:ršpi*

1 2 3 4

'you sold potato for money'

is embedded into the matrix sentence

12. *ni: ko:sn e:spi*

1 2 3

'you took money'

we get,

ni: [ni: ko:sk ki:č mo:ršpi] ko:s n e:spi

NP NP Dat. NP VP NP Obj.S. VP

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(the constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

Relativization transformation rule

SD : *ni: ni: ko:sk ki:č mo:řšpi k:os n e:spi*
 NP NP Dat. NP VP NP Obj.S. VP
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

SC: $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 7 + 8 \Rightarrow$
 $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5\text{-R.P.} + 6 + 7 + 8$

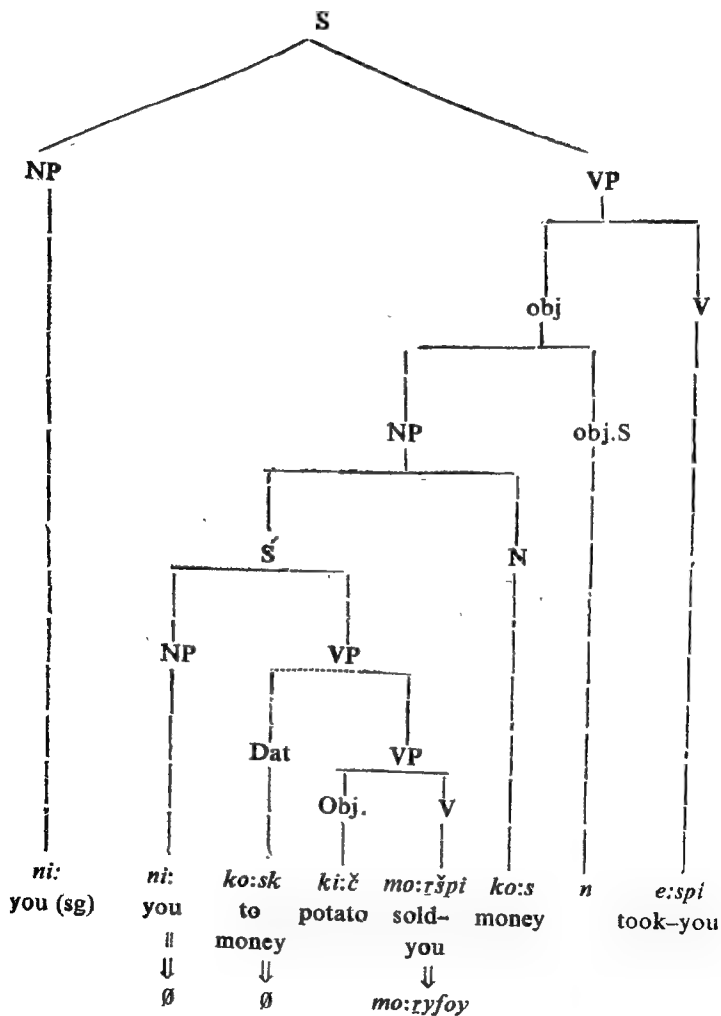
Equi NP deletion transformation rule

SD: NP + NP + Dat. + NP + VP - R.P. + NP + Obj.S. + VP
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

SC: $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5\text{-R.P.} + 6 + 7 + 8 \Rightarrow$
 $1 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 7 + 8$

if $1=2$ and $3=6$

(Since $1=2$, 2 is deleted and $3=6$, 3 is deleted)



9.2.1.5. Locative-predicate relationship

When the head of the noun phrase is the same as the locative of the sentence we find that the same relation (loc.-predicate) in the phrase also. In the following sentence, Relative participle (3) and noun (4) show the locative-predicate relation.

16. *iə wĩso:ʔ pĩ:t o:ʔa:r*

1 2 3 4

'this (is) the path in which priest goes'

1 4 2 3

This sentence is derived when the constituent sentence

17. *wĩso:ʔ o:ʔa:rɿ pi:ti*

1 2 3

'priest goes in the path'

1 3 2

is embedded into the matrix sentence

18. *iə o:ʔa:r iyi*

1 2 3

'This is the path'

1 3 2

we get,

iə [wĩso:ʔ o:ʔa:rɿ pi:ti] o:ʔa:r

NP NP NP-Loc. YP NP

1 2 3 4 5

(the constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

Relativization transformation rule

SD: *iə* *wĩso:ɛ* *o:ɛa:ɾs* *pi:ti* *o:ɛa:ɾ*
 NP NP NP Loc.S. VP NP
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: $1+2+3+4+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+2+3+4+5-R.P.+6$

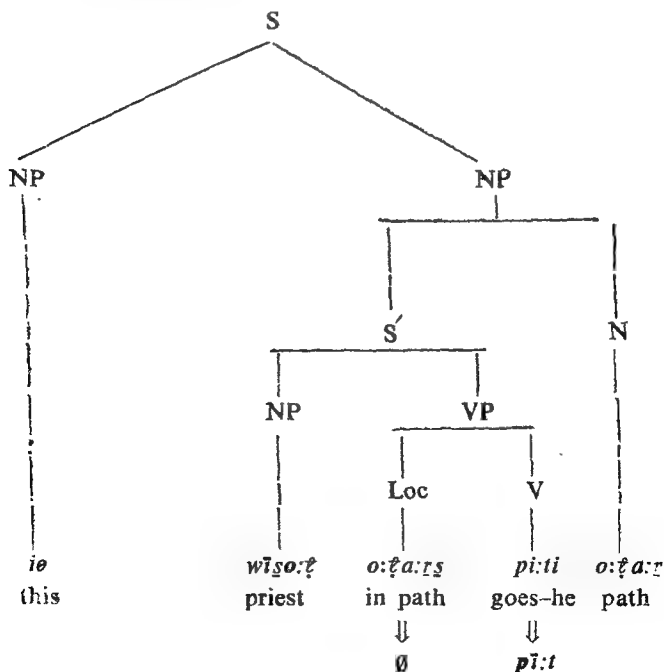
Equi NP deletion transformation rule

SD: NP+NP+NP+Loc.S+VP-R.P.+NP
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: $1+2+3+4+5-RP+6 \Rightarrow 1+2+4+5+6$

If $3=6$

(Since $3=6$, 3 is deleted)



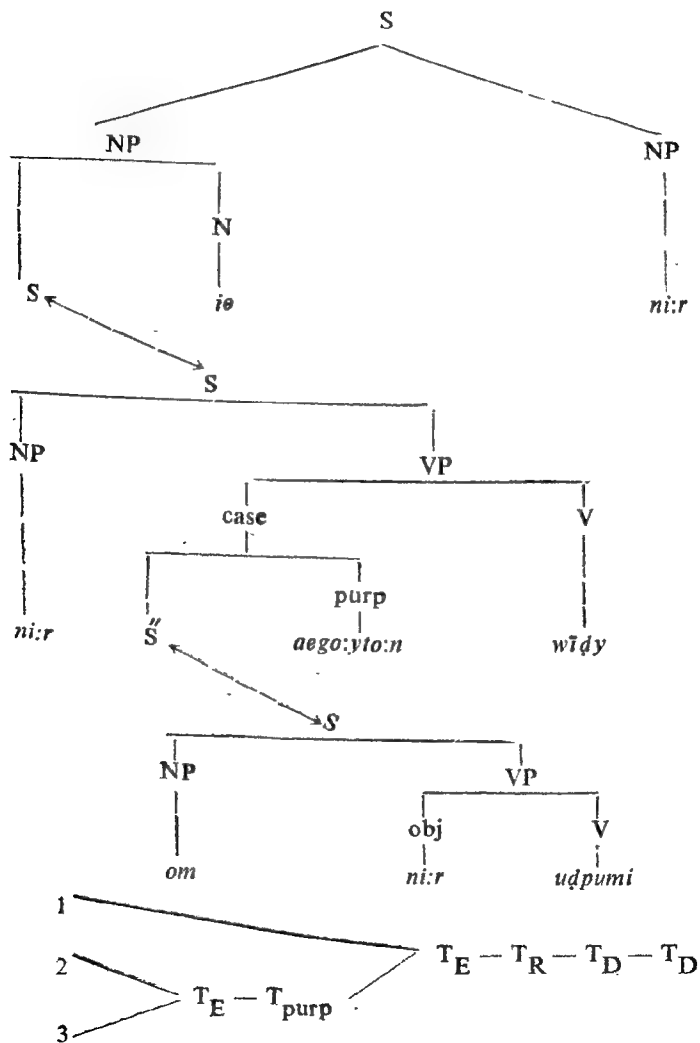
9.2.1 6. Purposive-predicate relationship

When the head of the noun phrase is the same as the purposive of the sentence we find that the same relation (Purp. - predicate) in the phrase also. In the following sentence Relative participle (2) and noun (3) show the purposive - predicate relation.

<i>iə</i>	<i>uḍt</i>	<i>ni:r</i>
1	2	3
this (is) drinking water'		
1	2	3

No transformational rule is applied in phrase marker (3). Embed this in the base phrase marker (2) in the place of \dot{S} , by a generalised substitution transformation T_E and the phrase marker *ni:r* 'water' *em* 'we' *ni:r uḍpumi/uḍkum* 'will drink-we' *aəgo:y to:n* 'for that purpose' *wīḍy* 'is' obtained. To this apply the purposive transformation T_{purp} so as to enable to get the expression *uḍfīḍtgo:yto:n* 'for the purpose of drinking'. Now we get the phrase marker *ni:r* 'water' *em* 'we' *uḍfīḍtgo:yto:n* 'for drinking' *wīḍy* 'is' which will be embedded in turn in the base phrase marker (1) in the place of \dot{S} by T_E . The resultant phrase marker is *ni:r* 'water' *em* 'we', *ni:r* 'water' *uḍfīḍtgo:yto:n* 'for the purpose of drinking' *wīḍy* 'is' *iə*, this-it' *ni:r* 'water' is obtained.

When we apply the relativization transformation T_E to this phrase marker *ni:r* 'water' *em* 'we' *uḍfīḍtgo:yto:n* 'for the purpose of drinking' *wīḍt* 'is (adj)' *ni:r* 'water' *iə* 'this-it', *ni:r* 'water' is obtained.



To this deletion transformation T_D is applied and the repeated NP *ni:r* 'water' *em* 'we (excl.)' are deleted.

The resultant phrase marker is *uḍfīḍtgo:yto:n* 'for drinking' *wīḍt* 'is (adj.)' *ni:r* 'water' *iə* 'this-it' is obtained. In order to get *uḍt ni:r* 'drinking water' again T_D , the deletion transformation is applied. The resultant phrase marker *uḍt* 'drinking' *ni:r* 'water' *iə* 'this-it'

By the permutation rule,

<i>uḍt</i>	<i>ni:r</i>	<i>iə</i>	
drinking	water	this-it	
1	2	3	\Rightarrow
<i>iə</i>	<i>uḍt</i>	<i>ni:r</i>	
'this-it	drinking	water'	
3	+	1	+
		2	

which bring 1 between 3 and 2 and we get,

<i>iə</i>	<i>uḍt</i>	<i>ni:r</i>
1	2	3
'this (is)	drinking	water'
1	2	3

9.2.2. Relative participle plus particle

Relative participle can also be in construction with certain participle and the whole phrase modifies the verb phrase. In the following sentence,

<i>o:n</i>	<i>aə</i>	<i>ōšfōy</i>	<i>mo:tiry</i>	<i>kīspini</i>
1	2	3	4	5
'I did as he said'				

ōšt-g-foy is the relative participle and *mo:tiry* 'that way' is the particle and the phrase *ōštfoy mo:tiry* is in construction with the following verb *kīspini* 'did - I'. The tense of the relative participle is conditioned by the particle occurring in the embedding sentence. The finite verb of the constituent sentence is followed by *mo:tiry* 'that way'. The verb phrase is modified when the participle *mo:tiry* follows it. Only a few particles alone can occur with past relative participle.

Particle set up in the matrix	gloss	forms set up in the matrix	Occurrence
<i>mo:tiry</i>	'that way'	<i>mo:tiry</i>	Past R.P.

9.2.2.1. Relative participle + particle

a mo:tiry 'in that way'

a mo:tiry 'in that way' occurs after past relative participle. The finite verb is converted into relative participle when it is followed by *a mo:tiry*. In the following sentence (3) and (4) show the relative participle-particle relation.

19. *o:n aə ōštfoy mo:tiry kīspini*
 1 2 3 4 5
 'I did as he said'

This sentence is derived by embedding the constituent sentence

20. *aə ōšči*
 1 2
 'he said'
 1 2

into the matrix sentence

21. *o:n a mo:tiry kīspini*
 1 2 3

'I did in that way

1 3 2

The matrix sentence contains *a mo:tiry* 'in that way'. The finite verb *ōšči* 'said-he' of the constituent sentence is converted into *ōštfoy* 'said (adj.)' when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence

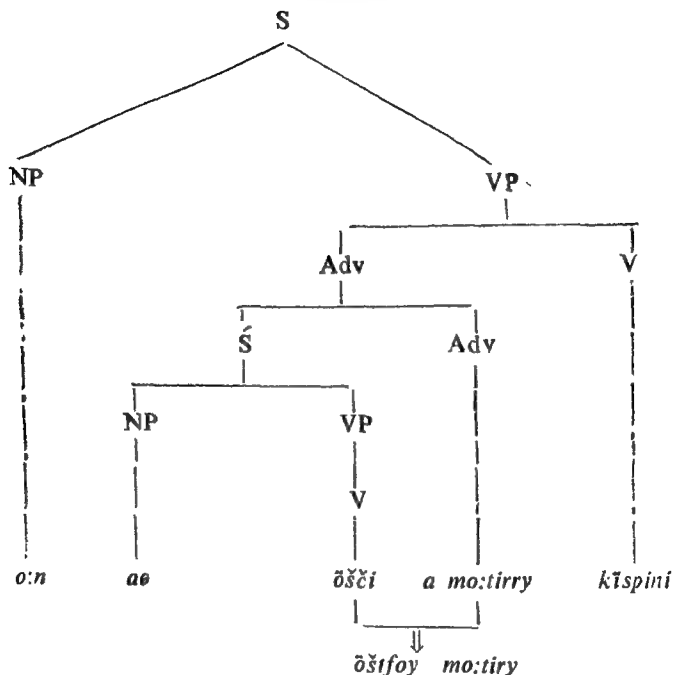
<i>o:n</i>	[<i>aθ</i>	<i>ōšči</i>]	<i>a mo:tiry</i>	<i>kīspini</i>
NP	NP	VP	Adv.	VP	
1	2	3	4	5	

(the constituent sentence is within parenthesis) and this undergoes the following transformational rule.

Relativization transformation

SD:	<i>o:n</i>	<i>aθ</i>	<i>ōšči</i>	<i>a mo:tiry</i>	<i>kīspini</i>
	NP	NP	VP	Adv.	VP
	1	2	3	4	5

SC: $1+2+3+4+5 \Rightarrow 1+2+3\text{-RP}+4+5$



9.2.2.2. *pīn* 'after / afterwards'

In the following sentence,

<i>o:n</i>	<i>aθ</i>	<i>pi:foɣ</i>	<i>pīn</i>	<i>pozpini</i>
1	2	3	4	5

pi:foɣ is the relative participle and *pīn* 'after / afterwards' is the particle and the phrase *pi:foɣ pīn* is in construction with the following verb *pozpini* 'came-I'. The tense of the relative participle is conditioned by the particle occurring in embedding sentence. The finite verb of the consituent sentence

is followed by *pīn* 'after/afterwards'. The verb phrase is modified when the particle *pīn* follows it.

pīn 'after/afterwards' occurs after past relative participle. The finite verb is converted into relative participle when it is followed by *pīn*. In the following sentence (3) and (4) show the relative participle-particle relation.

22. *o:n aθ pi:foɪ pīn poʒpini*
 1 2 3 4 5
 'I came after he left'
 1 5 4 2 3

This sentence is derived by embedding the constituent sentence

23. *aθ pi:či*
 1 2
 'He went'
 1 2

into the matrix sentence

24. *o:n pīn poʒpini*
 1 2 3
 'I came afterwards'
 1 3 2

The matrix sentence contains *pīn* 'after/afterwards'. The finite verb *pi:či* 'went-he' of constituent sentence is converted into *pi:foɪ* went (adj.) when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence

- | | | | | |
|------------|------------|---------------|------------|----------------|
| <i>o:n</i> | <i>[aθ</i> | <i>pi:či]</i> | <i>pīn</i> | <i>poʒpini</i> |
| NP | NP | VP | Adv. | VP |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

(the constituent sentence is within parenthesis) and this undergoes the following transformational rule.

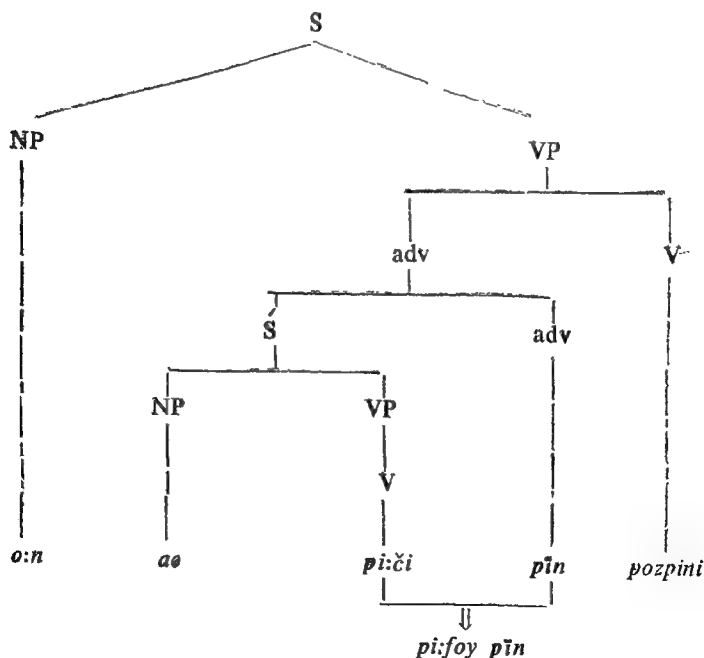
Relativization transformation

SD : *o:n aə pi:či pīn pozpini*

NP NP VP Adv. VP

1 2 3 4 5

SC : 1+2+3+4+5 \Rightarrow 1+2+3-RP+4+5



9.2.3. Verbal participle

In Toda language there is a verbal category called verbal participle which is used to express action performed by the subject when two or more actions are expressed in a sentence. The participle actions of the subject is always expressed by the finite verbs which always occur after the verbal participles which express the subordinate actions. In English such actions are usually expressed by a series of finite verbs joined by conjunctions. Verbal participle is in construction with the following verb.

Meaning	Form set up in the matrix sentence
1. Object	N + n (Obj.)
2. Consecutive	<i>pīn</i> 'afterwards'
3. Manner	<i>agīs</i> 'in that manner'
4. Causal	<i>aena:l</i> 'because of that'

9.2.3.1 Object N + n (Obj.)

mutna:s kelcn kīs mutfiči

'Mutnas did the work and finished'

9.2.3.2. Consecutive *pīn* 'after/afterwards'

o:n īrn kars pīn pojo:rtk pi:pini

'having milked the buffalo, I will proceed to Ootacamund afterwards'

9.2.3.3. Manner *agīs* 'in that manner'

ni: nīlōō pī:x

'you go without standing'

9.2.3 4 Causal

aə-n-a:l

'because of that or by that'

ak ku:x kurubn nwī:s oʃfiči

'having seen the Kurumba, the girl feared'

9.2.3.1. Object

mutna:s kelcn kīs mutfiči

1 2 3 4

'Mutnas did the work and finished'

1 3 2 4

is obtained from the matrix sentence

mutna:s kelcn mutfiči

1 2 3

'Mutnas has finished the work'

1 3 2

and from the constituent sentence

mutna:s kelcn kīsči

1 2 3

'Mutnas did the work'

1 3 2

When the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence, the following resultant sentence is gotten.

mutna:s [mutna:s kelcn kīsči] kelcn mutfiči

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

The following transformational rules are applied.

Verbal participialization transformation

SD: *mutna:s mutua:s kelcn kīsči kelc n mutfiči*NP_i NP_i Obj VP NP n VP

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9.2.3.2. Consecutive

o:n *ɪrn* *kaɾs* *pɪn* *pojo:rtk* *pi:pini*

1 2 3 4 5 6

‘having milked the buffalo, I will proceed to

3 2 1 6

Ootacamund afterwards’

5 4

o:n *pɪn* *pojo:rtk* *pi:pini*

1 2 3 4

‘I will proceed to Ootacamund afterwards’

and the constituent sentence,

o:n *ɪrn* *kaɾspini*

1 2 3

‘I milked the buffalo’

1 3 2

The constituent sentence is embedded into matrix sentence.

The resultant sentence is

o:n [*o:n* *ɪrn* *kaɾspini*] *pɪn* *pojo:rtk* *pi:pini*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

The following transformation rules are applied.

Verbal participialization transformation

SD: *o:n* *o:n* *ɪrn* *kaɾspini* *pɪn* *pojo:rtk* *pi:pini*

NP_i NP_i Obj. VP Adv. Obj. VP

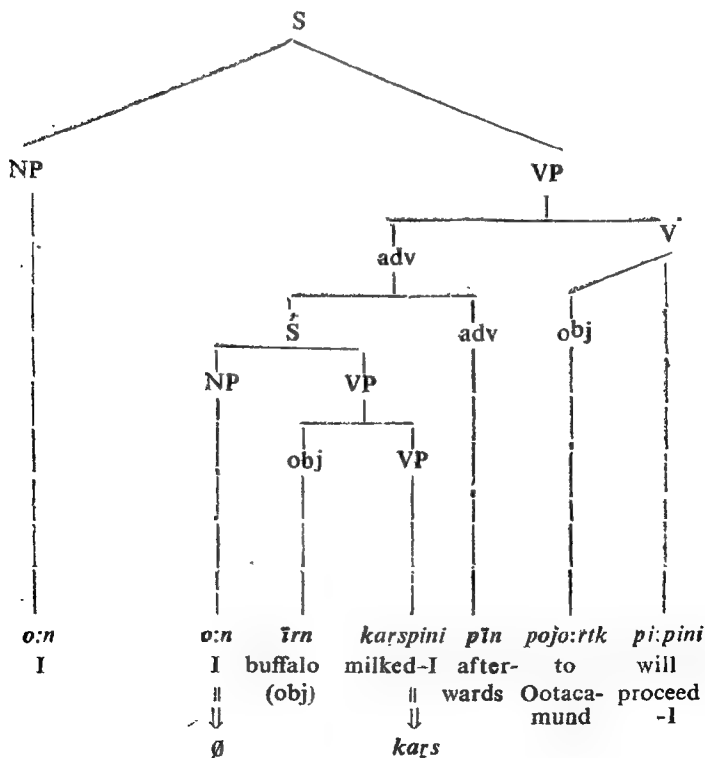
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC: 1+2+3+4+5+6+7 ⇒ 1+2+3+4-VP+5+6+7

Equi NP-deletion transformation

SD: NP_i + NP_i + Obj. + VP + Adv_t + Obj. + VP
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC: 1+2+3+4-V.P+5+6+7 \Rightarrow 1+3+4-V.P+5+6+7
 (Since 1=2, 2 is deleted)



9.2.3.3. Manner

ni: nīlō pī:x

'you go without waiting or standing'

is gotten from the matrix sentence

ni: agīs pī:x

'you go in that way'

and the constituent sentence

ni: nīdōṭi

'you don't wait or stand'

The constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix and the resultant sentence is

ni: [ni: nīdōṭi] agīs pī:x

The following transformation rules are applied.

Verbal participialization transformation

SD: *ni: ni: nīdōṭi agīs pī:x*

NP_i NP_i VP Adv_m VP

1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1+2+3+4+5 \Rightarrow 1+2+3-V.P+4+5

Equi NP deletion transformation

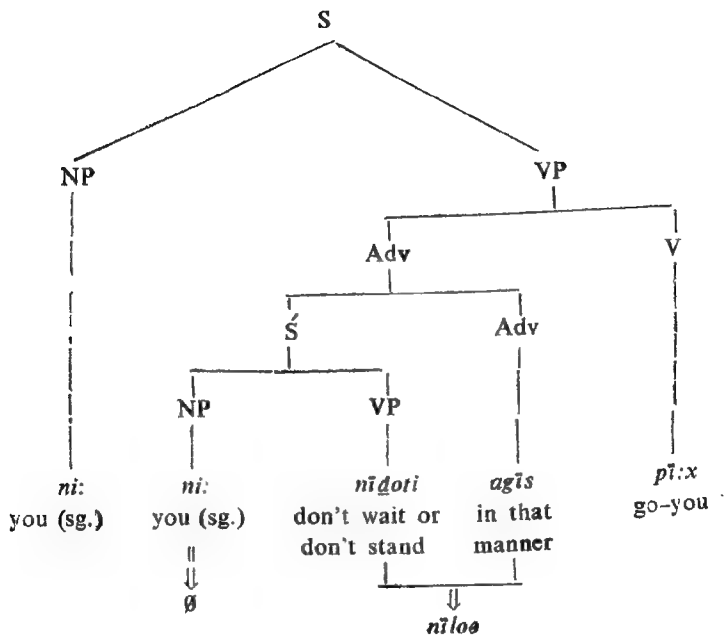
SD: NP_i + NP_i + VP + Adv_m + VP

1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1+2+3-V.P+4+5 \Rightarrow 1+3+5

if 1=2

(Since 1=2, 2 is deleted)



9.2.3.4. Causal

ak ku:x kurubn nwī:š oʃfiči

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---

'having seen the Kurumba, the girl feared'

is gotten from the following sentences

ak ku:x aəna:l oʃfiči

1 2 3

'she feared because of that'

1 3 2

is the matrix sentence and

ak ku:x kurubn nwī:či

1 2 3

'she saw the Kurumbas'

1 3 2

The constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence.

The resultant sentence is,

ak ku:x [ak ku:x kurubn nwī:či] aəna:l oʃfiči

The following transformational rules are applied.

Verbal participialization transformation

SD : *ak ku:x ak ku:x kurubn nwī:či aəna:l oʃfiči*

NP	NP	Obj.	VP	Ins.	VP
1	2	3	4	5	6

SC : $1+2+3+4+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+2+3+4-V.P.+5+6$

Equi NP deletion transformation

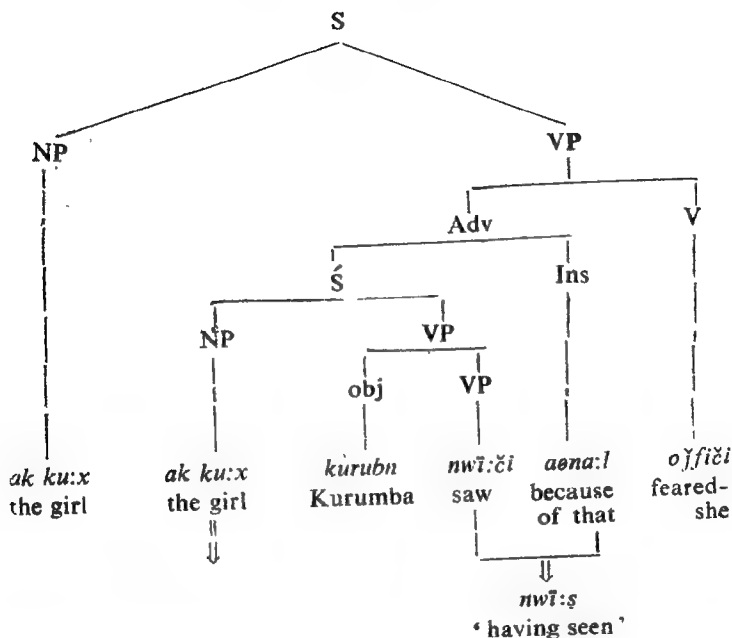
SD : $NP_1 + NP_1 + \text{Obj.} + \text{VP} + \text{Ins.} + \text{VP}$

1	2	3	4	5	6
---	---	---	---	---	---

SC : $1+2+3+4-V.P.+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+3+4-V.P.+6$

If $1 = 2$

(Since $1 = 2$, 2 is deleted.)



9.2.4. Infinitive

There is no infinitive as such in Toda; but corresponding to Tamil infinitive we find verbal noun plus *k* in Toda. That is to say verbal noun plus dative case marker functions as an infinitive. In Tamil also we find such constructions which are considered as verbal noun + dative case as in

na:n po:vataṛku vante:n 'I came to go'

9.2.5. Coordinate constructions

'A coordination is a construction consisting of two or more members which are equivalent as to grammatical function

and bound together at the same level of structural hierarchy by means of a linking device¹.

In Toda language there are two types of coordinations. They might be called correlative type and non-correlative type. There are three correlative coordinators in Toda. 1) Additive 2) Dubitative and 3) alternative.

In Toda

mutxe:n pi:či

1 2

‘Mutikan went’

1 2

ka:wxwĩṭn pi:či

1 2

‘Kawkuttan went’

1 2

can be coordinate and the resultant sentence will be

mutxe:nm ka:wxwĩṭnm pi:či

‘Mutikan and Kawkuttan went’

Here the noun phrases are coordinated. There is no singular plural distinction in the third person finite verb forms in Toda language. This kind of coordination is possible only when different nouns occur as subjects and the verb is the one and the same. In the following sentence,

ni:pa:w pi:či

‘Nipaw went’

pi:tro:jn pi:či

‘Peter Rajan went’

The finite verb *pi:či* is the same

ni:pa:wm pi:tro:jnm pi:či

‘Nipaw and Peter Rajan went’

1 Simon, C. Dik, *Coordination, its implications for the theory of General Linguistics*, p. 25.

o:n mutna:s kozpini 'I saw Mutnas'

o:n sinmury kozpini 'I saw Sinmury'

The above sentences are responsible for the following,

o:n mutna:sm sinmury:m kozpiui

'I saw Mutnas and Simury'

Here the objects *mu:na:s* and *sinmury* are combined. The conjucative - *m* is added to both the nouns. In this case also, the verb should be one and the same. This can be extended to other grammatical categories also.

The additive construction has the clitic - *m*, dubitative-*isky* and alternative - *oynum* or *em* in the matrix sentences in the deep structure.

9 2.5.1. Additive

9.2.5.1.1.

In this type of coordinate construction either the noun phrase or verb phrase can be conjoined. The noun phrases that are conjoined can either be the subject of the sentence or be part of the verb phrase.

sinmury:m tōwbni:sm pi:či 'Sinmury and Tebnis went'

is gotten by conjoining the matrix sentences

sinmury pi:či 'Simury went'

tōwbni: pi:či 'Tebnis went'

sinmuɽy and *tōwbnĩs* are subjects of the two matrix sentences. The two matrix sentences are conjoined and the resultant sentence will be,

Conj- *sinmuɽy pi:či tōwbnĩs pi:či*¹

This undergoes the following transformation rules.

Coordination conjoining transformation

SD: Conj- *Sinmuɽy pi:či Tōwbnĩs pi:či*¹
 X NP VP NP VP
 1 2 3 4

SC: X-1+2+3+4 \Rightarrow 1-X+2+3-X+4

VP Deletion transformation

SD: NP- Conj + VP + NP — Conj + VP
 1 2 3 4

SC: 1-Conj+2+3-Conj+4 \Rightarrow 1-Conj+2+3-Conj.

Residue switch rule

SD: NP- Conj + VP + NP — Conj
 1 2 3

SC: 1-Conj+2+3-Conj \Rightarrow 1-Conj+3-Conj+2

1 Unlike in Tamil there is no singular and plural distinction in the third person finite verb forms in Toda language.

9.2.5.1.2. In the following sentence the noun phrases that are conjoined are part of verb phrase.

o:n pot ĩrm üj kořm kwĩřspini
 1 2 3 4

'I gave ten buffaloes and five calves'

1 4 2 3

is gotten from the matrix sentence

o:n pot ĩr kwĩřspini 'I gave ten buffaloes'

o:n üj koř kwĩřspini 'I gave five calves'

The two matrix sentences are conjoined and the resultant sentence will be,

Conj- *o:n pot ĩr kwĩřspini o:n üj koř kwĩřspini*

This undergoes the following transformational rules.

Coordination conjoining transformation

SD: Conj- *o:n pot ĩr kwĩřspini o:n üj koř kwĩřspini*

X 1 2 3 4 5 6
 NP Obj_k VP NP Obj. VP

SC: X-1+2+3+4+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+2-X+3+4+5-X+6

VP Deletion transformation

SD: NP + Obj. -X + VP + NP + Obj. -X + VP

1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1+2-X+3+4+5-X+6 \Rightarrow 1+2-X+3+5-X

Residue switch rule

SD: NP + Obj. -X + VP + Obj. -X

1 2 3 5

SC: 1+2-X+3+5-X \Rightarrow 1+2-X+5-X+3

9.2.5.1.3. In the following sentences the noun phrases that are conjoined are part of verb phrase.

sinxe:n pot ɪrm ni:pa:w ɔɪ koɾm mo:ɾči

‘Sinkan sold ten buffaloes and
Nipaw sold eight calves’

is gotten from the following matrix sentences

sinxe:n potɪr mo:ɾči ‘Sinkan sold ten buffaloes’

ni:pa:w ɔɪ koɾ mo:ɾči ‘Nipaw sold eight calves’

The two matrix sentences are conjoined and the resultant sentence will be,

Conj- *sinxe:n potɪr mo:ɾči ni:pa:w ɔtkoɾ mo:ɾči*

The finite verb *mo:ɾči*¹ ‘sold-he / they’

is the same in both the matrix sentences. Eventhough the subjects are different, the finite verbs are the same.

This undergoes the following transformation rules.

Coordination conjoining transformation

SD: Conj- *sinxe:n potɪr mo:ɾči ni:pa:w ɔɪ koɾ mo:ɾči*
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: $X-1+2+3+4+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+2-X+3+4+5-X+6$

VP Deletion transformation

SD: NP + Obj — X + VP + NP + Obj — X + VP
 1 2 3 4 5 6

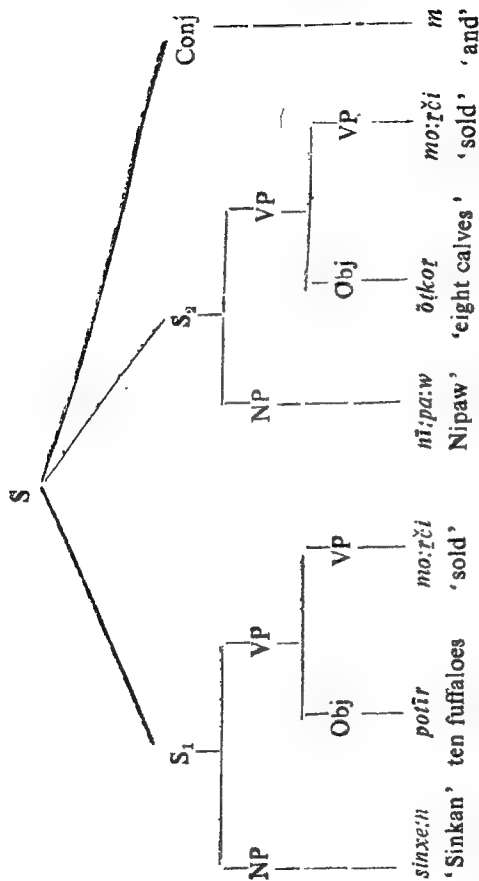
SC: $1+2-X+3+4+5-X+6 \Rightarrow 1+2-X+3+4+5-X$

Residue switch rule

SD: NP + Obj — X + VP + NP + Obj — X
 1 2 3 4 5

SC: $1+2-X+3+4+5-X \Rightarrow 1+2-X+4+5-X+3$

1 There is no singular, plural distinction in third person finite verb forms.



Coordination

conjoining

|| ↓

ni:pa:w *otkor* *mo:rči*

↓

∅

Deletion

|| ↓

ni:pa:w *otkor* *mo:rči*

↓

∅

Residue

Switch rule

|| ↓

ni:pa:w *otkor* *mo:rči*

↓

∅

potir *mo:rči**otkor* *mo:rči*

↓

∅

sold

9.2.5.2. Dubitative

9.2.5.2.1.

mutna:gisky mutxe:nisky podti

1 2 3

‘either Mutnas or Mutikan will come’

1 2 3

is gotten from the following matrix sentences.

1. *mutna:g podti*

2. *mutxe:n podti*

The finite verb *podti* ‘will come-he’ is the same in both the matrix sentences and the subjects are different.

The two matrix sentences are conjoined and the resultant sentence is

Conj.—*mutna:g podti mutxe:n podti*

This undergoes the following transformation rules

Coordination conjoining transformation

SD: Conj. — *mutna:g podti mutxe:n podti*

X	NP	VP	NP	VP
	1	2	3	4

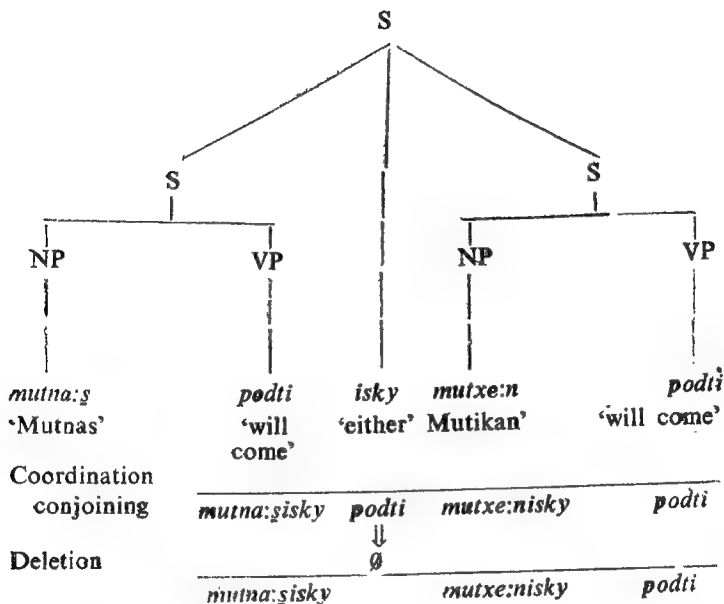
SC: $X-1+2+3+4 \Rightarrow 1-X+2+3-X+4$

VP Deletion transformation

SD: NP-X + VP + NP-X + VP

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---

SC: $1-X+2+3-X+4 \Rightarrow 1-X+3-X+4$



9.5.2.3. Alternative

9.5.2.3.1.

Coordinator of alternative type can combine the sentences only when the finite verbs are non-past (future).

simmury oynum mutna:ɟ oynum pi:ti

1 2 3

'either Simmury or Mutnas will go'

is gotten from the following matrix sentences,

simmury pi:ti

'Simmury will go'

mutna:ɟ pi:ti

'Mutnas will go'

The finite verb *pi:ti* is the same in both the matrix sentences. Eventhough subjects are different, verbs are the same.

The two matrix sentences are conjoined and the resultant sentence will be,

Conj- *simmury pi:ti mutna:s pi:ti*

This undergoes the following transformation rules.

Coordination conjoining transformation

SD: Conj- *simmury pi:ti mutna:s pi:ti*

X	NP	VP	NP	VP
	1	2	3	4

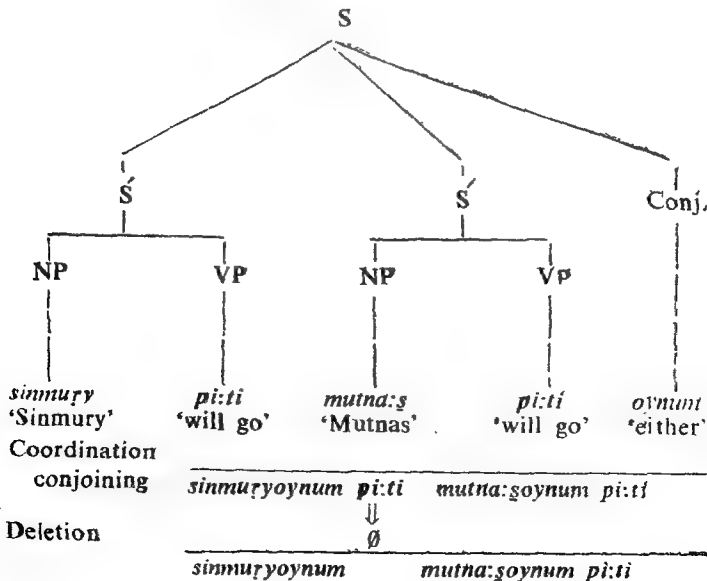
SC: $X-1+2+3+4 \Rightarrow 1-X+2+3-X+4$

Deletion transformation

SD: NP- X + VP + NP- X + VP

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---

SC: $1-X+2+3-X+4 \Rightarrow 1-X+3-X+4$



9.5.2.4. Non-correlative type

In Toda we have another type of coordinators which are called non-correlative coordinators.

o:n monšpini e:ḍīḍwīɾ aə en ko:tfoɪ

‘I forgave because she is
my wife’

is gotten from the following matrix sentences.

o:n monšpini

‘I forgave’

aə en ko:tfoɪ

‘she is my wife’

The two matrix sentences are conjoined and the resultant sentence is,

Conj- *o:n monšpini aə en ko:tfoɪ*

This undergoes the following transformation rules.

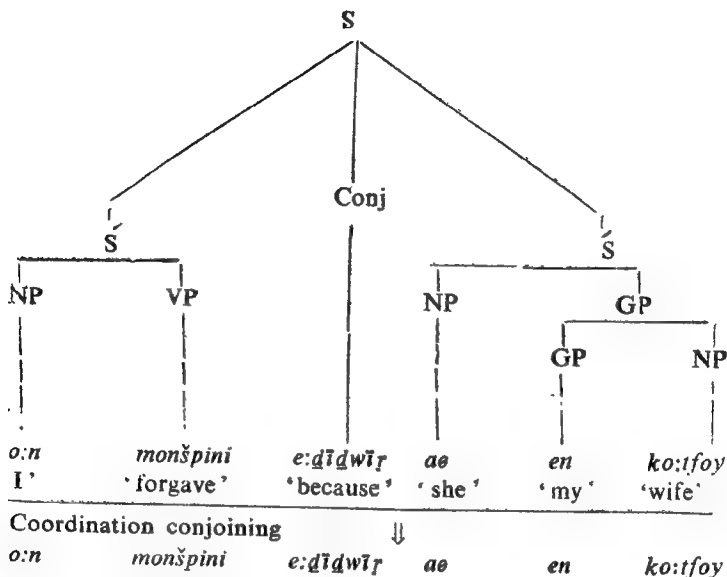
Coordination conjoining transformation

SD: Conj- *o:n monšpini aə en ko:tfoɪ*

X	NP	VP	NP	GP	NP
---	----	----	----	----	----

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

SC: $X-1+2+3+4+5 \Rightarrow 1+2-X+3+4+5$



9.2.6. Verbal noun

In Toda verbal nouns play a very important role in syntax and we have to set up this as one of the grammatical categories for the description of the Toda language.

Verbal noun has got the force of a noun as well as a verb. "As a noun it can be used as the nominative of a subsequent verb; and as a verb it may be preceded by a nominative of its own and may govern a noun in case"¹. This can be seen in Toda language also.

¹ R. Caldwell, A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian family of Languages, p. 542

In the following sentence,

ni: podfīḍtn o:n koḥpini

1 2 3 4

'I saw you coming'

3 4 1 2

podfīḍt-n 'the act of coming' is a verbal noun which as a verb (Predicate) has its own subject *ni:* you (sg.) and as a noun (Object) it has another verb *koḥpini* 'saw-I' as its predicate. Verbal noun as regular noun can take case markers also.

Verbal noun is derived from the finite verb of the constituent sentence and it is embedded into the noun phrase of the matrix sentence.

Verbal noun occurs as regular nouns and they take all case suffixes.

9.2.6.1. Object

ni: podfīḍtn o:n koḥpini

1 2 3 4

'I saw you coming'

3 4 1 2

9.2.6.2. Instrumental

aə pi:fīḍtna:l o:n poḥpini

1 2 3 4

'I came because of his going'

3 4 1 2

9.2.6.3. Purposive

tōwbnīs ki:č mo:ɾyɟīdigo:y pi:či

1 2 3 4

‘Tebnis went for selling the potato’

1 4 3 2

9.2.6.4. Subject

aə pi:fīdɪ wīl ɪyi

1 2 3 4

‘it is good that he goes’

4 3 1 2

9.2.6.5. Dative

o:n ko:s kwīɾɟfīdɪk pozpini

1 2 3 4

‘I came for giving money’

1 4 3 2

9.2.6.1. Object

nī: podfīdɪn o:n koɟpini

1 2 3 4

‘I saw you coming’

3 4 1 2

This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence,

nī: podpi

1 2

'you come'

1 2

into the matrix sentence

o:n an kozpini

1 2 3

'I saw it-that'

The resultant sentence is

o:n [ni: podpi] an kozpini

[The constituent sentence is within parentheses]
and this undergoes the following transformation rules.
Verbal nominalization transformation

SD: *o:n ni: podpi aθ n kozpini*

1 2 3 4 5 6

NP NP VP PN Obj.Case VP

SC: $1+2+3+4+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+2+3-VN+4+5+6$

Deletion transformation

SD: NP+NP+VP-VN+PN+Obj.C+VP

1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: $1+2+3-VN+4+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+2+3-VN+5+6$

Permutation transformation

SD: NP+NP+VP-VN+Obj Case+VP

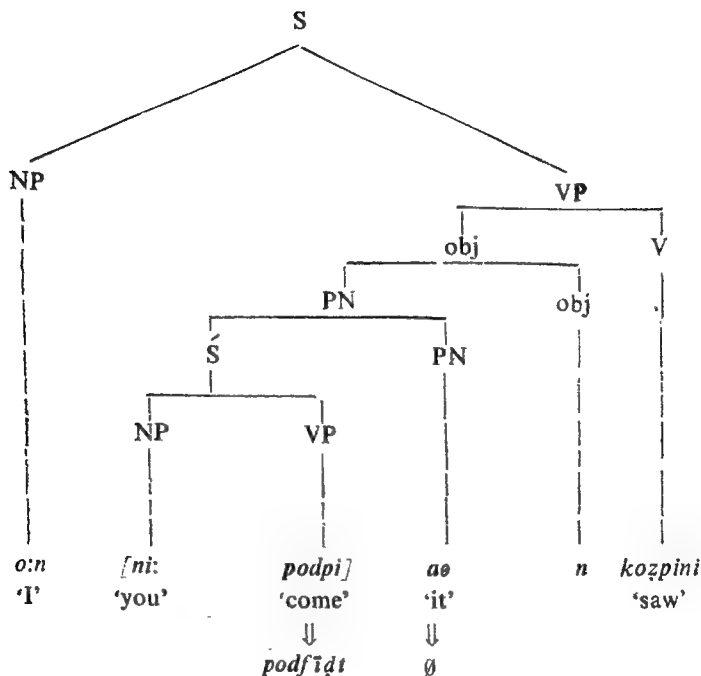
1 2 3 5 6

SC: $1+2+3-VN+5+6 \Rightarrow 2+3-VN+5+1+6$

which brings 1 between 5 and 6,

we get

ni: podfiḏtn o:n kozpini



9.2.6.2. Instrumental

aə pi:fɪɖɪna:l o:n poʒpini

1 2 3 4

'I came because of his going'

This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence,

aə pi:ti

1 2

'he goes'

1 2

into the matrix sentence,

o:n aena:l pozpini

1 2 3

'I came because of that'

The resultant sentence is

oə pi:fīdtna:l o:n pozpini

The finite verb *pi:ti* is converted into *pi:fīdtna:l* 'because of his going' when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence

o:n [aə pi:ti] aen a:l pozpini

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformation rules.

Verbal nominalization transformation

SD: *o:n aə pi:ti aen a:l pozpini*

1 2 3 4 5 6

NP NP VP PN Ins. VP

SC: $1+2+3+4+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+2+3-V.N+4+5+6$

Deletion transformation

SD: NP+NP+VP-VN+PN+Ins.+VP

1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: $1+2+3-VN+4+5+6 \Rightarrow 1+2+3-VN+5+6$

Permutation transformation

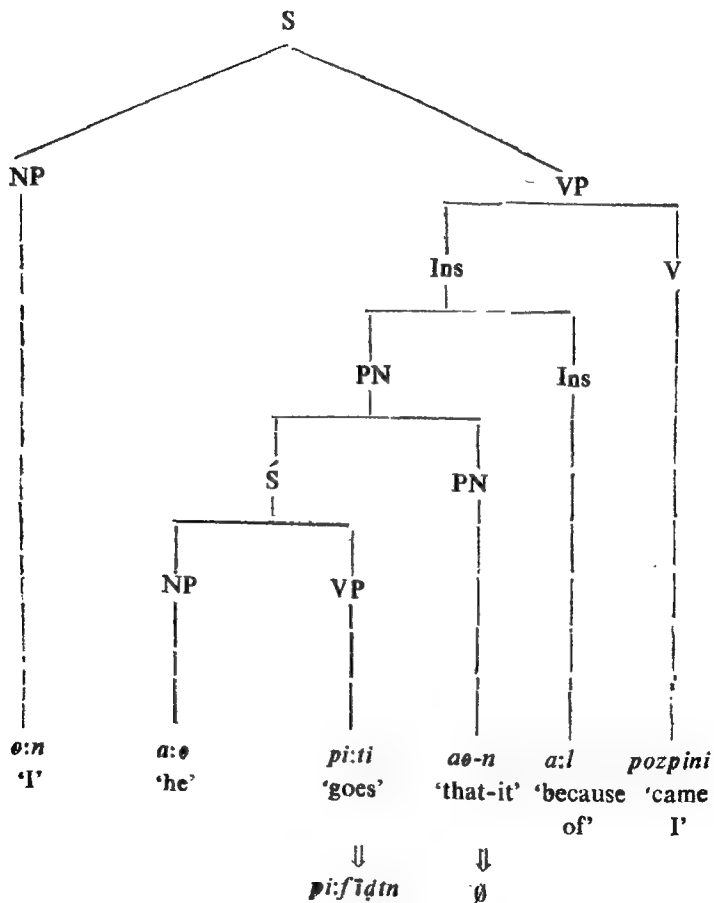
SD: NP+NP+VP-VN+Ins.+VP

1 2 3 5 6

SC: $1+2+3-VN+5+6 \Rightarrow 2+3-V.N+5+1+6$

Then we get,

aə pī:fīdtna:l o:n pozpini



9.2.6.3 Purposive

tōwbnīš ki:č mo:ryfīdtgo:y pi:či

1 2 3 4

‘Tebnis went for selling potato’

1 4 3 2

This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence,

tōwbnīš ki:č mo:rti

1 2 3

‘Tebnis sells potato’

1 3 2

into the matrix sentence

tōwbnīš aəgo:y pi:či

1 2 3

‘Tebnis went for that purpose’

The finite verb *mo:rti* is converted into *mo:ryfīdtgo:y* ‘for selling’ when constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence.

The resultant sentence is

tōwbnīš ki:č mo:ryfīdtgo:y pi:či

tōwbnīš (tōwbnīš ki:č mo:rti) aə go:y fī:či

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses)
and this undergoes the following transformation rules.

Verbal nominalization transformation

SD : *tõwbnĩs tõwbnĩs ki:č mo:ɽti aə goy pi:či*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NP	NP	Obj.	VP	Pn.	Purp.	VP
				case		

SC : $1+2+3+4+5+6+7 \Rightarrow 1+2+3+4-VN+5+6+7$

Deletion transformation

SD : NP+NP+Obj. + VP+PN.+Purp.+VP

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

SC : $1+2+3+4-VN+5+6+7 \Rightarrow 1+2+3+4-VN+6+7$

Equi NP deletion transformation

SD : $NP_1 + NP_1 + Obj + VP-VN + Case + VP$

1	2	3	4	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---

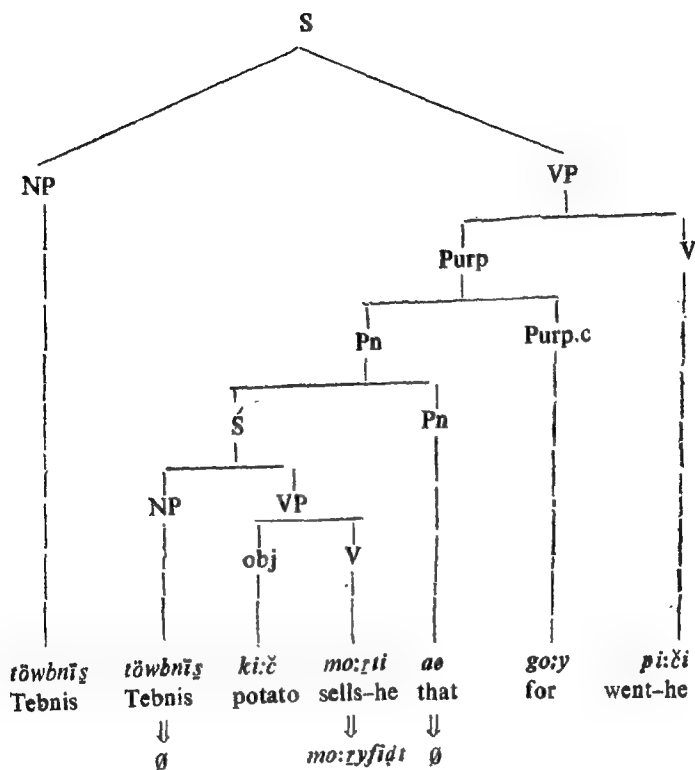
SC : $1+2+3+4-VN+6+7 \Rightarrow 1+3+4-VN+6+7$

if $1=2$

(Since $1=2$, 2 is deleted)

Then we get,

tõwbnĩs ki:č mo:ɽyfĩɽtgo:y pi:či



9.2.6.4. Subject

aə pɒdʃɪdɪt wi! ɪyi

1 2 3 4

'it is good that he comes'

This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence,

aə podti

1 2

'he comes'

1 2

into the matrix sentence

aə wīl̥ īyi

'it is good'

The finite verb of the constituent sentence *podti* 'comes-he' is converted into *podfīdt* 'the act of coming' when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence.

The resultant sentence is

aə podfīdt wīl̥īyi 'it is good that he comes'

(*aə podti*) *aə wīl̥ īyi*

1 2 3 4 5

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformation rules.

Verbal nominalization transformation

SD: *aə podti aə wīl̥ īyi*

1 2 3 4 5

NP VP NP Adv. VP

SC: $1+2+3+4+5 \Rightarrow 1+2-VN+3+4+5$

Deletion transformation

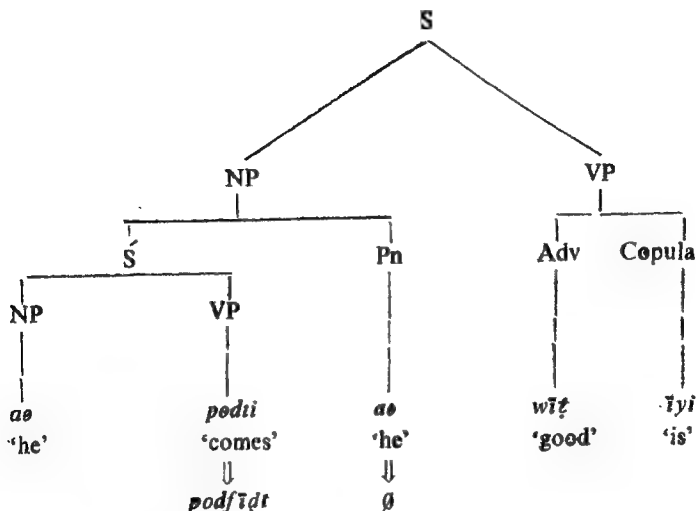
SD: NP + NP - VN + NP + Adv. + VP

1 2 3 4 5

SC: $1+2-VN+3+4+5 \Rightarrow 1+2-VN+4+5$

Then we get,

aə podfīdt wīl̥ īyi



9.2.6.5. Dative

pō:ṛmox o:ṭfo:š kaḷfīḍtk podti

1 2 3 4

'Tamilboy comes for learning the Toda language'

1 4 3 2

This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence

pō:ṛmox o:ṭfo:š kaḷti

1 2 3

'Tamilboy learns the Toda language'

into the matrix sentence

pō:ṛmox aøk podti

1 2 3

Tāmilboy comes for that'

The finite verb of the constituent sentence *kaṭti* 'learns-he' is converted into *kaṭfīḍik* 'for learning' when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence.

The resultant sentence is

pō:ṛmox (pō:ṛmox o:ṭ fo:š kaṭti) aək podti

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

Verbal nominalization transformation

SD :	<i>pō:ṛmox</i>	<i>pō:ṛmox</i>	<i>o:ṭ fo:š</i>	<i>kaṭti</i>	<i>aə</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>podti</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	NP	NP	Obj	VP	Pn. Dat.case		VP

SC : 1+2+3+4+5+6+7 => 1+2+3+4-VN+5+6+7

Deletion transformation

SD :	NP	+	NP	+	Obj.	+	VP-VN	+	Pn.	+	Dat.	+	VP
	1		2		3		4		5		6		7

SC : 1+2+3+4VN+5+6+7 => 1+2+3+4-VN+6+7

Equi NP Deletion transformation

SD :	NP _i	+	NP _i	+	Obj.	+	VP-VN	+	Case	+	VP
	1		2		3		4		6		7

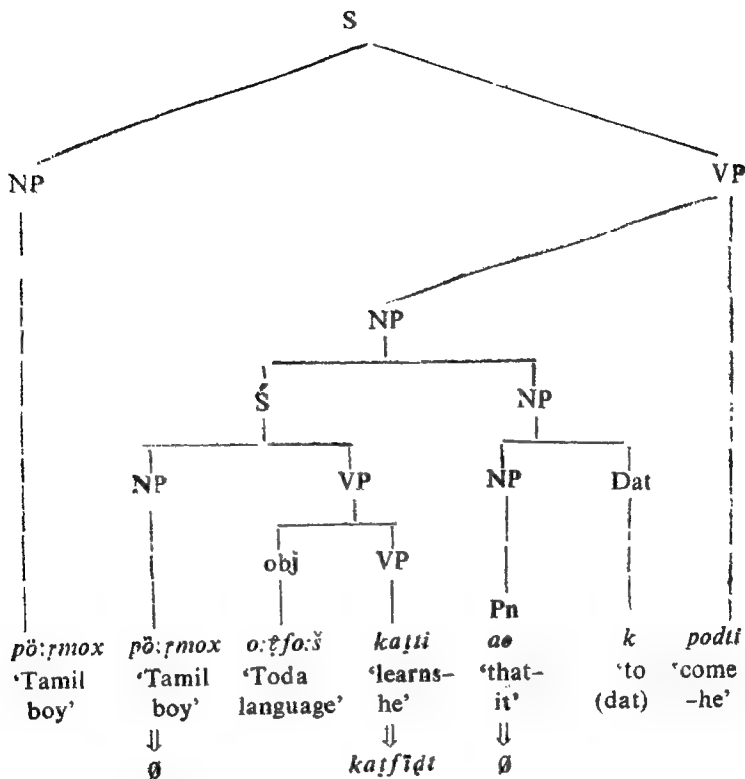
SC : 1+2+3+4-VN+6+7 => 1+3+4-VN+6+7

If 1=2

(Since 1=2, 2 is deleted.)

we get,

pō:ṛmox o:ṭ fo:š kaṭfīḍik podti



9.2 7. Conditional

The conditional participles are always followed by non-past. The conditional participle expresses either negation or affirmation. A sentence with conditional participle may have two or more subjects and they may be identical or non-identical.

Conditional is in construction with the following verb

aə podnwīɽ o:n pi:pini

1 2 3 4

'I will go if he comes'

3 4 1 2

podn-wīɽ 'if comes' is conditional and it is in construction with the verb *pi:pini* 'will go-I'. Also in the following sentence

aə po:rofoynwīɽ o:n pī:xeni

'I won't go if he does not come'

Here *po:rofoynwīɽ* 'if does not come' is conditional and it is in construction with the verb *pī:xeni* 'won't go-I'.

In the above sentences *wīɽ* is the conditional suffix.

9.2.7.1. Affirmative conditional

sinxe:n podnwīɽ o:n pojo:rtk pi:pini

1 2 3 4 5

'I will go to Ootacamund if Sinkan comes'

3 5 4 1 2

This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence

sinxe:n podti

1 2

'Sinkan will come'

1 2

into the matrix sentence

o:n atfok pojo:rtk pi:pini

1 2 3 4

'Then I will go to Ootacamund'

2 1 4 3

The matrix sentence contains *atfok* 'then' and the predicate is always non-past. The finite verb of the constituent sentence *podti* 'will come-he' is converted into *podnwĩr* 'if comes', when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence.

o:n (sinxe:n podti) atfok pojo:rtk pi:pini

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

Conditional transformation

SD: *o:n sinxe:n podti atfok pojo:rtk pi:pini*

1 2 3 4 5 6

NP NP VP Adv. Dat. VP

SC: 1+2+3+4+5+6 => 1+2+3-Cond.+4+5+6

Adv. Deletion transformation

SD: NP+NP+VP-Cond.+Adv.+Dat.+VP

1 2 3 4 5 6

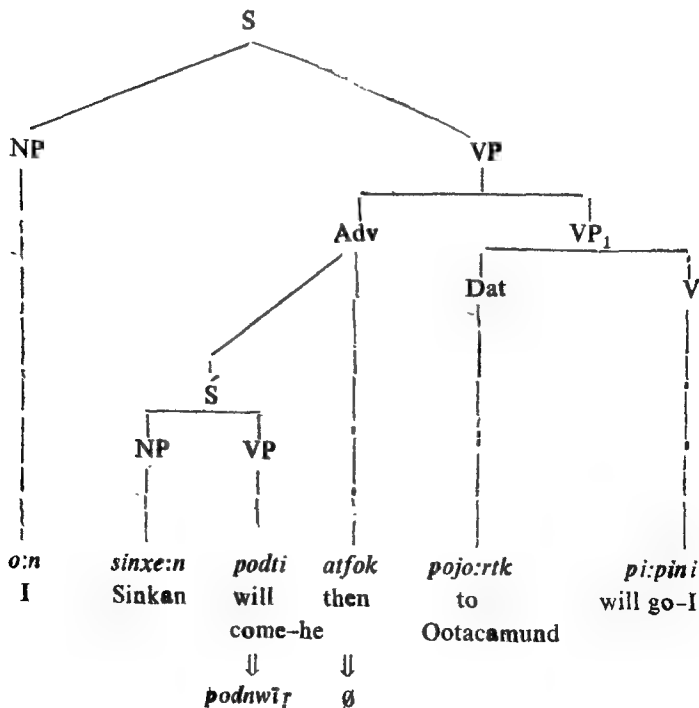
SC: 1+2+3-Cond.+4+5+6 => 1+2+3-Cond.+5+6

Permutation transformation

SD : 1+2+3-Cond.+5+6

SC : 1+2+3-Cond+5+6 => 2+3+1+5+6
 which brings 1 between 3 and 5

Then we get,

sinxe:n podnwĩr o:n pojo:rtk pi:pini

9.2.7.2.1. Negative conditional

The constituent sentence is always negative but the matrix sentence may or may not be in the negation.

onon po:rofovwir wirsed podti

1 2 3 4
 'if elder brother does not come younger brother
 1 2 3
 will come'
 4

This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence

oŋoŋ po:rīyī

1 2
the elder brother does not come
 or
the elder brother won't come'

into the matrix sentence

wīrfed atfok podti

1 2 3
'the younger brother will come then'
1 3 2

The finite verb of the constituent sentence *po:ri:vi* 'won't come or does not come' is converted into *po:rofoynwɪɾ* 'if does not come', when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence.

wīrfed (onon po:rīvi) atfok podti

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

Conditional transformation

SD : *wīrfed onon po:rīyī atfok podti*

1	2	3	4	5
NP	NP	VP	Adv.	VP

SC : $1+2+3+4+5 \Rightarrow 1+2+3\text{-Cond}+4+5$

Adv. deletion transformation

SD: NP+NP+VP-Cond.+Adv.+VP

1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1+2+3-Cond.+4+5 => 1+2+3-Cond.+5

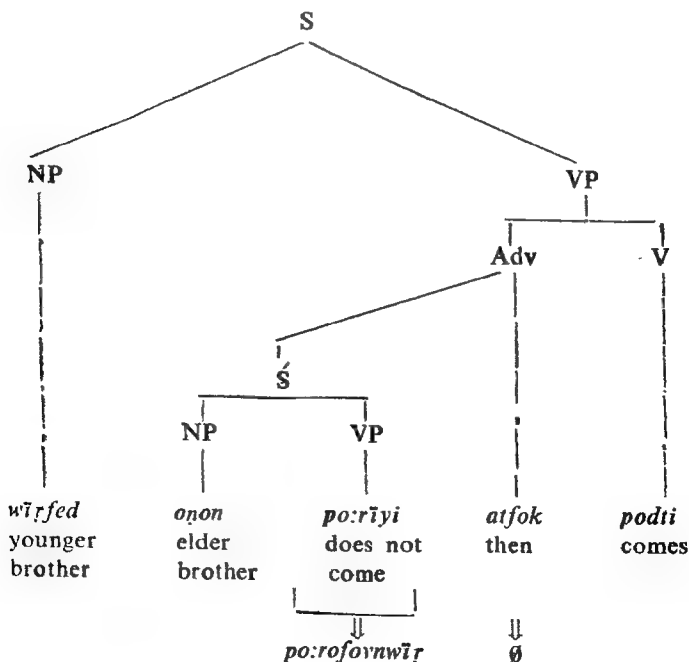
Permutation transformation

SD: NP+NP+VP-Cond.+VP

1 2 3 5

SC: 1+2+3-Cond.+5 => 2+3-Cond.+1+5

Then we get,

oŋon po:rofoynwĩr wĩrfed podti

9.2.7.2.2.

mutxe:n öštofoynwīṛ sinmury po:rīyi

1 2 3 4

'if Mutikan does not say Sinmury won't come'

1 2 3 4

This sentence is produced by embedding the constituent sentence

mutxe:n öštīyi

1 2

'Mutikan does not say'

1 2

into the matrix sentence

sinmury atfok po:rīyi

1 2 3

'Sinmury won't come then'

The finite verb of the constituent sentence *öštīyi* 'does not say' is converted into *öštofoynwīṛ* 'if does not say' when the constituent sentence is embedded into the matrix sentence.

sinmury [mutxe:n po:rīyi] atfok po:rīyi

(The constituent sentence is within parentheses) and this undergoes the following transformational rules.

Conditional transformation

SD : *sinmury mutxe:n öštīyi atfok po:rīyi*

1 2 3 4 5
NP NP VP Adv. VP

SC : 1+2+3+4+5 => 1+2+3-Cond+4+5

Adv. deletion transformation

SD: NP+NP+VP-Cond +Adv.+VP
 1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1+2+3-Cond.+4+5 => 1+2+3-Cond.+5

Permutation transformation

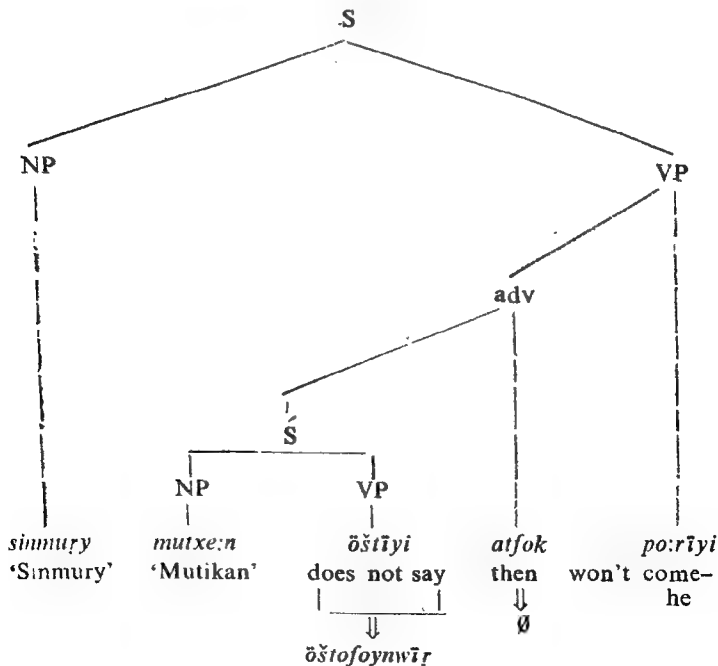
SD: 1+2+3-Cond+5

SC: 1+2+3-Cond+5 => 2+3+1+5

which brings 1 between 3 and 5

Then we get,

mutxe:n öštofoynwīṛ sinnuṛy po:rīyi



9.2.8. Participial noun [P. N.]

For the structure of participial noun (See 4.14)

Participial noun in Toda as in other Dravidian languages is derived from the relative participle and noun. So, all the relations that exist between the relative participle and the following noun are also found here. In Tamil *vantavan* 'one who came' is a participial noun derived from the relative participle, *vanta* 'came' and the pronoun *avan* 'that-he' whereas in Toda there is no gender distinction in third person like Tamil *avan*, *avaḷ* and *adu*. Participial noun is gotten from relative participle + *o:ṭ*.

The structure is

$S_2 + R.P + o:ṭ$

- Ex. $kīs + p + \emptyset + o:ṭ = > kīs po:ṭ$ 'person who does'
 $pod + p + \emptyset + o:ṭ = > pod po:ṭ$ 'person who comes'
 $kwīṛt + p + \emptyset + o:ṭ = > kwīṛt po:ṭ$ 'person who gives'
 $kīs + \emptyset + foy + o:ṭ = > kīs foyo:ṭ$ 'person who did'
 $pi: + \emptyset + foy + o:ṭ = > pi: foyo:ṭ$ 'person who went'
 $tīḍ + \emptyset + foy + o:ṭ = > tīḍ foyo:ṭ$ 'person who ate'

9.3. Singularly transformations

"In many natural languages we find changes of order among various constituents of sentences, deletion of certain constituents, additions of certain items etc. and they are taken care of by certain transformations which are known as Singularly transformations"¹. The singularly transformations take

1 S. Agesthialingom, *A Generative Grammar of Tamil*, p. 109.

place within simple sentences and there are three kinds of transformations, viz, permutation, replacement and deletion. In Toda language we find certain changes in the order of various constituents and they are dealt with here.

9.3.1. Permutation

9.3.1.1. Opt.NP+Case+V => Case+NP+V

o:n an koʒpini
 1 2 3
 'I saw him'
 => *α:n o:n koʒpini*
 2 1 3

9.3.1.2. Opt.NP+Tm+V => Tm+NP+V

tōwbnīʒ mune:r pi:či
 1 2 3
 'Tebnis went day before yesterday'
 => *mune:r tōwbnīʒ pi:či*
 2 1 3

9.3.1.3. Opt.NP+Abl.+V => Abl.+NP+V

o:n moɖʒn poʒpini
 1 2 3
 'I came from mund'
 => *moɖʒn o n poʒpini*
 2 1 3

9.3.1.4 Opt.NP+Soc.+V => Soc.+NP+V

o:n anpoɖy pi:ʃpini
 1 2 3
 'I went with him'
 => *anpoɖy o:n pi:ʃpini*
 2 1 3

9.3.1.5. Opt.X+Y+Temp.+V => Y+Temp.+X+V

o:n aə podfok pi:špini
 1 2 3 4

'I went when he came'

=> *aə podfok o:n pi:špini*
 2 3 1 4

9.3.1.6 Rel.part+X+Y+Copula=>Y+Rel.part+X+Copula

uđt ni:r ɽə ɽyi
 1 2 3 4

'This is drinking water'

=> *ɽə uđt ni:r ɽyi*
 3 1 2 4

9.3.1.7 Opt.NP+Purp.+Adv.+V

aə aəgo:y a:nk pi:či
 1 2 3 4

'he. went for that purpose'

=> NP+Adv.+Purp.+V

aə a:nk aəgo:y pi:či
 1 3 2 4

and

Adv.+NP+Purp.+V

a:nk aə aəgo:y pi:či
 3 1 2 4

9.3.1.8. Opt.NP+Purp.+Dat.+V

mutna:s aəgo:y pojo:rtk pi:či
 1 2 3 4

'Mutnas went to Ootacamund for that purpose'

= > NP + Dat. + Purp. + V

mutna:s pojo:rtk aəgo:y pi:či
 1 3 2 4

= > Purp. + NP + Dat + V.

aəgo:y mutna:s pojo:rtk pi:či
 2 1 3 4

= > Dat. + Purp. + NP + V

pojo:rtk aəgo:y mutna:s pi:či
 3 2 1 4

and

Dat. + NP + Purp. + V

pojo:rtk mutna:s aəgo:y pi:či
 3 1 2 4

9.3.2. Deletion

9.3.2.1. Num. + Case + Num. + NP + V

wīḍ u:rs wīḍ ro:jn wīḍy
 1 2 3 4 5
 'there was a king in a country'

= > Num + Case + Num + NP

wīḍ u:rs wīḍ ro:jn
 1 2 3 4

9.3.2.2. Dem. Adj. + Case + Num. + NP + V =>

Dem. Adj + Case + Num. + NP

a ro:jnk wīḍ tojmox wīḍy
 1 2 3 4 5

= > *a ro:jnk wīḍ tojmox*

1 2 3 4

$$9.3.2.3. \quad P_n + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{VP} \end{array} \right\} = > \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{VP} \end{array} \right\}$$

o:n pozpini => pozpini

'I' 'came' 'came'

1 2 2

iə en a:ɔ̃ => en a:ɔ̃

'this(is) my house' 'my house'

1 2 3 2 3

iə ogoɖykub mu:ʈɪr => ogoɖykub mu:ʈɪr

'this(is) Kotagiri bus' 'kotagiri bus'

1 2 3 2 3

'this is Kotagiri bus'

iə kwa:ymütu:r ɪr => kwa:ymütu:r ɪr

'this(is) Coimbatore buffalo' 'Coimbatore buffalo'

1 2 3 2 3

'this is Coimbatore buffalo'

iə kaɾno:t ɪr => kaɾno:t ɪr

'this(is) Mysore buffalo' 'Mysore buffalo'

1 2 3 2 3

'this is Mysore buffalo'

9.3.3. Replacement

$$9.3.3.1. \text{ Opt. } \begin{bmatrix} \text{Dat.} \\ \text{Loc.} \end{bmatrix} = > \begin{bmatrix} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} a:nk \\ i:nk \end{array} \right\} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} al \\ il \end{array} \right\} \end{bmatrix}$$

sinmury moɾtk pi:ti

1 2 3

‘Sinmury goes to the mund’

= > *sinmury a:nk pi:ti*

‘Sinmury goes there’

sinxe:n pojo:rtk podti

1 2 3

‘Sinkan comes to Ootacamund’

= > *sinxe:n i:nk podti*

‘Sinkan comes here’

ko:ltmox poɽyʃ wīɽy

1 2 3

‘dairy boy is in the temple or dairy’

= > *ko:ltmox il wīɽy*

‘dairy boy is here’

ay o:ɽ kwa:ɽʃ wīɽy

1 2 3 4

‘that man is in the forest’

= > *ay o:ɽ al wīɽy*

‘that man is there’

9.3.3.2. Opt. Tm -a: => *etfok*

sinxe:n noɾpoxol-a: pi:či
 => *sinxe:n etfok pi:šk?*
 'when did Sinkan go?'

mutna:s ekaɾfotk-a: pi:či
 => *mutna:s etfok pi:šk?*
 'when did Mutnas go?'

sinkijpu:f üjmoɾyk-a: pi:či
 . => *sinkijpu:f etfok pi:šk?*
 'when did Sinkijpuf go?'

mutxe:n mu:ɖmoɾyk-a: pi:či
 => *mutxe:n etfok pi:šk?*
 'when did Mutikan go?'

or

'at what time did Mutigan go?'

9.3.3.3. Opt. $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} T_1 \\ T_2 \end{array} \right\}$ -a: => *etfīn*

mune:ɾ-a: => etfīn
mutxe:n etfīn pozk?
 'on which day did Mutikan come?'

īne:ɾ-a: => etfīn
na:nxe:n etfīn pozk?
 'on which day did Nanikan come?'

īɖ-a: => etfīn
sinkijpu:f etfīn pozk?
 'on which day did Sinkijpuf come?'

makolk-a: = > etfīn

mutna:s etfīn podu?

‘on which day will Mutikan come?’

$$9.3.3.4. \left\{ \begin{array}{l} a:nk \\ i:nk \\ N-\check{s} \\ N-k \end{array} \right\} -a: = > \left\{ \begin{array}{l} e:nk \\ e:l \end{array} \right\}$$

a:nk-a: = > e:nk

aə e:nk pi:u?

‘where does he go?’

i:nk-a: = > e:nk

sinkijpu:f e:nk podu?

‘where does he come?’

poṭyš-a: = > e:l

aə e:l wīḍy?

‘where is it?’

pojo:rtk-a: = > e:nk

aə e:nk pi:šk?

‘where did he go?’

9.3.3.5. Opt.NP + N₁-Acc.-Conj. + N₂ = Acc.-Conj. + V
=> NP + PNpl.-Acc. + V

o:n sinmury-n-m mutna:s-n-m koṣpini
1 2 3 4

‘I saw Sinmury and Mutnas’

=> *o:n aəa:n koṣpini*

1 Pnpl 4

‘I saw them’

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